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The Week

THE world may be on fire, but the governments of the chief European powers do not seem to believe it—and neither does the Congress of the United States, if its views on the war-debt question are properly interpreted to us by the journalists. Most of the leading powers have thus far refused to accept wholeheartedly Secretary Hull's proposal for a tariff truce, even for the duration of the coming Economic Conference. France and Japan have accepted "in principle" but with reservations; and everyone knows that this is a polite way of saying No. France is in fact on the point of raising her tariff against us while lowering that which applies against Great Britain. The British have at last accepted the tariff-truce proposal, but they did so reluctantly, after hinting that they would like to trade it off against debt reduction, and after working with feverish haste to complete as many new tariff agreements with other countries as they possibly could. The French announce that they will not pay the defaulted war-debt instalment of last December unless they are first promised a moratorium on that of this June—and nothing seems more unlikely than that Congress will grant such a new moratorium just as the London Conference starts. As for Germany, it is hard to imagine Hitler now abandoning that economic nationalism which is the heart of his program. Every expert in the world agrees that the way out of the depression is, at least to an important degree, along the road of reduced barriers to international trade; yet most of the politicians in all countries give every sign of wanting these barriers to remain as high as ever, or to be heightened. Their actions at this crucial moment in world history give support to those who have argued that its present leaders are incapable of preventing the collapse of Western civilization.

WHETHER because of resentment against the policies of the Hitler government, or for other reasons, German export trade is declining. The surplus of exports over imports is a slender one, and dispatches from Berlin warn us that it is possible the next set of official figures may show an unfavorable balance. While it is impossible to prove that the treatment of the Jews is having an adverse effect, common sense suggests that this must be the case: no matter what may be done about formal boycotts, few Jews in any part of the world will knowingly buy German goods for a long time to come. If Germany's favorable balance of trade disappears, she will probably suspend the service on much or all of her foreign debt. She will also be forced to accept an increase in unemployment and if the situation continues long enough, the standard of living of her whole working population, already desperately low, will be depressed. The Nazis are discovering with astonishment and pain the relation between politics and economics; but as is usually the case in such circumstances, it is not they but the German workers as a whole who must pay most dearly for their mistakes.

FROM the standpoint of Western capitalist countries, the action of Russia in renewing her treaties with Germany is a puzzling one. The Hitler government has acted with incredible savagery toward the Communists. Thousands of them have been jailed, all their organizations have been driven underground, and admittedly some of them have been killed. A central point in the Nazi philosophy is

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the complete destruction of "Marxism" both in Germany and everywhere else. Yet a few days ago, N. N. Krestinsky, Soviet Deputy Foreign Commissar, signed in Moscow a renewal of the Berlin agreements of 1924 and 1926, and the arbitration treaty of 1929. The explanation has several aspects. In the first place, the Russians believe in economic determinism: they need their German trade, and all the more desperately now that the Anglo-Russian reciprocal boycotts are in effect. In the second place, the Stalinist policy is to let the Communist movements in other countries than Russia get along as best they can. In the third place, Russia is the most anxiously pacifist country in the world today: she knows that a war would ruin all her plans and perhaps put an end to the entire Communist experiment. Since she cannot and will not fight Germany, she will be friends. We wish there were more nations which took such a rigidly realistic view of international relations.

MAHATMA Gandhi has begun another fast of three weeks. His reason, so we are told, is mainly to reprove the high-caste Hindus for their failure to move more aggressively in aid of the Untouchables. The British acted wisely in releasing Mr. Gandhi at the beginning of his fast; his doctors say that in his emaciated condition there is grave doubt whether he can survive three weeks' abstention from food. His death would be a profound tragedy for India, and hardly less so for Great Britain. Although the English have no direct and immediate responsibility for his fast, India would forget that fact and would remember only that he had been in jail for a year at the time he undertook it. The civil-disobedience movement, which has lately been at low ebb, might easily surge up again with the saintly little figure of Gandhi as its martyred leader. England has the best of reason for hoping that he can be induced to break his fast, or if he cannot, that he will survive it.

THE new bonus march on Washington will evoke throughout the country far less sympathy than the last one did. Mr. Hoover was then in power, and was doing next to nothing to relieve the worst victims of the depression, among whom many veterans are undoubtedly included. The whole incident of the bonus encampment was handled with amazing stupidity, which came to its climax when the former soldiers were driven out with tear gas, bayonets and torch. Today, the Roosevelt administration is working on several lines to help the common man. The forestry army will give $30 a month and subsistence to 250,000 young men. The public-works program will take care of many more. Another $500 million is about to be spent for direct relief. The President is fighting for higher wages and for power to make them mandatory. A nationwide system of employment exchanges is in the offing. It remains true, however, that thus far all these measures combined have done little for the relief of the common man, and the Communists are entirely within their rights in calling attention to his continuing plight by such publicity methods as the new bonus march. They are doing so, it seems probable, at some sacrifice of their own ultimate political objectives, since their support of the soldiers' bonus must in the long run alienate a larger number of potential supporters than it gains them.

A LOT of people are beginning to dislike the New Deal very much; and among them, we suspect are some of the leading producers of cement in the United States. Mr. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, is in charge of the continued operations at Hoover Dam (which now seems to be returning to its original title of Boulder Dam). He needed 400,000 barrels of cement; but when he advertised for bids, ten leading companies all offered an identical bid of $1.29 a barrel—a price which, Secretary Ickes says, is twenty cents a barrel higher than was asked sixty days ago. Mr. Ickes believes that these identical bids resulted from an understanding among the companies, and has announced that before the government will pay such a price, it will, if necessary, go into the cement business itself. The matter is of some importance since the government will eventually buy 3,500,000 barrels of cement for the Dam. He has complained about the matter to the Federal Trade Commission, which already has the cement industry under investigation. We should be greatly surprised if bitter tears were not being shed nowadays among the big boys of the cement trade over the late lamented Hoover-Wilbur regime. In those days, it will be remembered, the government insisted that the electric power produced at Boulder-Hoover-Boulder Dam should be distributed by private companies, though an opportunity existed to make a demonstration of low-priced electric current second only to that at Muscle Shoals. It was Mr. Hoover, also, who refused to have the government engineers erect the Dam, and turned it over to private contractors. The men who built the Panama Canal were not good enough for him. Times are indeed changing along the Potomac.

MINIMUM-WAGE legislation began twenty years ago as one of the most promising fruits of the Progressive movement. A dozen states hopefully entered upon this experiment. Had it been allowed to proceed, we should now have not only a very illuminating body of social experience but also one sure barrier against the ruthless deflationary process due to the restoration of cutthroat sweatshop competition. The experiment was cut short by the odd man on the Supreme Court in an opinion which elicited the solemn warning of Chief Justice Taft that "it is not the function of this Court to hold congressional acts invalid simply because they are passed to carry out economic views which the Court believes to be unwise or unsound." It is just a decade since the Supreme Court pronounced, at least temporarily, the doom of minimum-wage legis-

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lation and it has taken ten years to obtain the enactment of another type of minimum-wage legislation which, it is hoped, will survive the guillotine of the Supreme Court. The present effort for minimum-wage legislation coincides with another progressive movement; President Roosevelt has himself given the effort his powerful support. Beyond that, however, the depression has afforded insight into the meaning of the minimum-wage idea little appreciated twenty years ago. It ought now to be clear even to the most obtuse that the minimum wage is not a largesse for women and children but a necessity for industry itself. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the examples of New York and New Hampshire, where minimum-wage laws have just been enacted, will be promptly followed throughout the Union, and that when the legislation comes before it, the Supreme Court will heed the tragic experience of twenty years.

HARVARD University has a new president. He is Dr. James Bryant Conant, professor of organic chemistry, and since he is only forty, he will be among the youngest men to head a great educational institution in this country. Though Dr. Conant is deeply respected in his profession, where he is an outstanding leader in scientific research, he is not widely known to the general public. Perhaps the first thought which will occur to many is that it is a pity to take a first-rate research man away from the job to which he has devoted his whole life, and make him an executive. Whether this is a loss, on balance, will depend of course upon what he makes of Harvard; and as to that, preliminary judgments are of no value.

THE United States Senate a few days ago passed a bill which might well have caused any veteran Washington journalist who happened to be in the gallery to drop dead from astonishment. The upper chamber quietly decided that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation should in future make no loan to any institution unless the top salary paid to any officer of that institution is $17,500 a year. The Senators argued, and we think with some reason, that a corporation which has to come hat in hand begging for a little government money has no business paying, as so many of them still do even in these hard times, $100,000 or $200,000 to a president, and $50,000 or $75,000 to any number of vice-presidents. We hope very much that the House will promptly pass the same bill, and that it will become law. We hope this, but we expect otherwise. What we expect is that all the railroad lobbyists, the bank lobbyists, the life-insurance-company lobbyists and the mortgage-company lobbyists will rise in one phalanx and kill the measure at the behest of their terror-stricken bosses back home.

THE craziest news we have recently seen from Germany is a brief item regarding an innovation in the telephone service. German switchboard girls, like others the world over, have been in the habit of spelling out difficult words by reciting a commonly used name for each letter—David for D, Jacob for J, Nathan for N, Samuel for S, Zachariah for Z, and so on. But this was too much for the Nazis, who saw in it just another form of that all-pervasive Jewish propaganda. In future, so the new order reads, the girls will say Deutschland for D, National for N, Siegfried for S, Joachim for J and Zeppelin for Z. It matters not to the Nazis that some of the new words are practically inaudible over the telephone. We regard this as alarming because it seems to us conclusive proof that the Hitlerites are crazy fanatics—almost as crazy and as fanatical as were the Moslems of a century or two ago.

Lenin's Proposal—and Roosevelt's

READERS of Charles A. Beard's review of Lenin's books on the Russian Revolution in this issue of The New Republic are likely to be specially interested in Lenin's proposal to the capitalists and the government, made shortly before the Bolshevik overturn in October, 1917. There is a certain similarity between the situation of the Russian economy at that time and that of our own economy at present, and also a rather striking general likeness between Lenin's prescription and that now being suggested in Washington. Lenin, it will be observed, was not telling the government how to make a Communist revolution, but merely how to rescue the nation's economic life by measures which it might easily adopt if it had the will and intelligence.

There was collapse of banking, transportation, industry and agriculture; there was unemployment and threatened starvation. If the state really wanted to do something "businesslike" about this it would have only to utilize "control measures already known," building on "War Industries Committees." In other words, expand the trade associations and integrate them with the government, as we and almost every other nation did during the War. Lenin's list of necessary measures sounds strangely familiar: unification of the banking system and state control over it; control of the big syndicates or associations of producers; abolition of commercial secrets; compulsory organization of other industries into what we should call trade associations; and the building of consumers' associations of the general population.

This would not, Lenin carefully explained, involve expropriation of private property except in one or two extreme cases like oil, or where owners resisted the measures taken. But it would mean uniform accounting (a phrase familiar enough in our trade-association vocabulary) and a share in control for trade unions, both of office employees and man-

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ual workers. The principal aims of this organization of industry were "the establishment of the most complete, the most drastic and detailed accounting, and, above all, the *unification of operations* in the purchase of raw materials, in the selling of manufactured goods, in the conservation of natural resources."

Last Sunday President Roosevelt told the people of this nation that the country had been "dying by inches." After recounting the emergency measures already taken, he went on to propose a system generally described as a "partnership in planning and a partnership to see that the plans are carried out between government and farming, government and industry, government and transportation." It is obvious that in his mind this means largely trade-association work, with uniform accounting and the "unification of activities" in buying and selling. It means compulsion by the government to bring in line those concerns which will not otherwise carry out such a program. And it means protection and raising of labor standards in hours and wages. Though in his "fireside" speech he did not mention unification of the banking system, that is also in the air.

Lenin's proposal went much further than Mr. Roosevelt's does in two significant directions—control by organized labor and organization of consumers. Unless the partnership is extended to these important functions, monopolistic capital will almost certainly attempt to sequester too large a share of the possible gain in social efficiency and thus will defeat itself in the end. The main essential in making an economy that can work is to expand popular purchasing power; this requires control of wages and prices in the interest of workers and consumers rather than in the interest of profits. Mr. Roosevelt probably expects government participation to safeguard this objective, but that is a weak reliance unless the non-capitalists themselves are organized to see that it is done. However solicitous a particular administration may be of these interests during a crisis, the drift will be toward a complaisant acquiescence in what those who control business want to do.

A judicious expansion of Mr. Roosevelt's proposal would, like Lenin's, make possible an orderly transition to a functioning economy. Even a Socialist could logically endorse it; Lenin was wise enough to see, unlike many present-day revolutionists, that this sort of thing is not an obstacle to something better, an example of what is now loosely called "Fascism," but a possible stage of advance. "Socialism," he wrote, "is nothing but the next step forward from state-capitalist monopoly. In other words, Socialism is nothing but state-capitalist monopoly *made to benefit the whole people;* by this token it ceases to be capitalist monopoly."

The danger is not that a capitalist government may adopt a program of this kind, but that it may not do so quickly enough, or in a thorough enough manner. In Russia events moved too rapidly for the governing classes and the provisional government; spontaneous insurrection overtook them even before they had time to consider Lenin's new pamphlet. After the Bolsheviks had placed themselves at the head of this force and had established power, they tried the scheme; but private industry would not work it, or was incapable of doing so. A more drastic socialization program was eventually compelled by circumstances. Will the American government and business men move more quickly in relation to the development of our crisis; and will they really be able to do the necessary job? There is some reason to think they are more intelligent and better prepared than their Russian counterparts, and that the resentment of the population against distress will give them more time. These are questions, the answers to which will be unfolded in the historical development of the United States in the next few months or years.

Hitler Crushes the Labor Unions

FIFTY German trade unionists are still in prison pending investigation of the books of their respective organizations by the government to determine whether the money of these unions was spent "in the interests of the union or for political purposes," and until the political activity of the prisoners has been fully examined. "For the time being" the funds of these unions remain in the possession of the Fascist dictatorship, as will the funds of the seven labor banks and the material and financial assets of the workers' coöperative societies. With a single blow, the Hitler regime laid low the structure that six decades of an industrious and self-sacrificing labor movement had erected.

The free German trade unions were the pride of the international labor movement. On January 1, 1933, they reported a membership of 4,717,569, a record figure for Germany with its six million unemployed. The A.F.A., the union of the white-collar workers, which had 477,000 organized clerks, bookkeepers, salesmen, et cetera, on its rosters and worked in close coöperation with the Federation, was also expropriated by the government. On the day after the raid on the Social Democratic unions, the (Catholic) Christian Unions, with their 700,000 members, placed themselves at the disposal of the government and voluntarily turned over to the authorities their books and money as well as the full control of their management. The Liberal Hirsch-Duncker unions, with about 250,000 members, followed the example of the Christian Unions, so that today all trade unions are under the direct control of the government and have been deprived of every possibility of independent action.

Not less important is the transfer of the Socialist coöperatives to government control and probably

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government ownership. A mighty structure created by labor out of its own resources to render service to the masses, with a membership of 4,380,000, with 1,360 branches, conducting more than 50,000 retail establishments, with a staff of almost 95,000 clerks and other employees, with twenty-nine producers' coöperatives giving employment, on January 1, 1933, to 118,000 men and women, and with a wholesale department, the Hamburg "Production," that is a model of its kind, is about to become another link in the chain of Nazi economic power. The annual turnover of this organization—742 million marks in 1932—the membership which, despite the crisis, increased from year to year, and membership savings accounts, which at the last report amounted to 79,600,000 marks, all speak for the soundness of these institutions.

The trade-union organizations, under the direction of a Nazi commissioner, will be welded into a corporate body controlled by the Labor Ministry. In a proclamation "to the entire German people," Dr. Göbbels, the Minister for Propaganda, has indicated the course the government will take. "Where once Marxist songs of hate resounded," he announces, "there will be a united people. Where once the machine guns of these Red saviors of the people rattled, we will strike the first blow for the national peace of a corporate state. Where formerly the spirit of a deadening materialism prevailed, we will proclaim to our people and to the world a new and glowing idealism, rooted in the eternal right of our people to freedom, work and bread, and based on the national union of all estates, national groups and professions into a united Germany. . . ." The class organization of labor has ceased to exist. In its place will come Fascist unions patterned on their Italian prototype, unions which may demand of the employing class only such concessions as obtain in Italy and may carry on only such activities as meet with the previously requested approval of the Minister of Labor. As representatives of labor's interests, they are deprived of significance and function, becoming, instead, an integral part of the state which, as the creation of the ruling class, serves this class and delivers the worker, deprived of every weapon, into the hands of his exploiter. The coöperatives, too, will be continued under state control, but devoid, henceforth, of that independent function that made them so invaluable an asset to the masses in their struggle against the commercial capitalist and middle classes.

When and in what form the compulsory labor service, announced by Hitler in his May Day speech, will put into effect is still uncertain. The question itself has already precipitated differences within the Cabinet which will probably culminate in the replacement of Franz Seldte, Minister of Labor, by the Nazi Colonel Hierl. Seldte, founder and commander of the Steel Helmets, persistently opposed the combination of compulsory labor service and general conscriptive military service. Colonel Hierl looks upon labor conscription, with intensive military training, as an intermediate step in the direction of universal compulsory military service. The attitude of the European Powers toward this large-scale militarization of Germany's youth remains to be seen. Public opinion in France regards it not only as a danger to the status quo under the Versailles Treaty, but, with even greater justification, as a threat to world peace. The pacifist protestations of Hitler and his propagandists cannot conceal the fact that Fascist Germany is training, not for self-defense, but for a possible passage-at-arms with its enemies of yesterday. Viewed in this light, there is an ominous significance in the systematic effort of the German government to train its youth in the "spirit of self-sacrifice." With the destruction of the labor unions and the training of the young men in surroundings calculated to subordinate every public and personal consideration to national greatness and nationalist aggression, the Hitler government is trying to create a new Germany in which, according to the Chancellor's May Day speech, "fifty years from now, the very name of Marxism will be forgotten."

In Reply to The Nation

OUR VALUED contemporary, The Nation, which has been supporting devaluation of the dollar as a means of raising prices, in its issue of May 10 replies briefly to the contention of The New Republic that this measure would be ineffective. Writes The Nation:

> What has been the theory behind this policy [the purchase of government securities by Federal Reserve Banks], which, in spite of its demonstrated futility, continues to be so widely supported? It is the theory that prices depend directly upon the volume of currency or of credit; that prices cannot rise without increased "purchasing power," and that we must have this added currency or credit before we have the purchasing power. And this belief has led a large number of commentators either to believe that the devaluation of the dollar or of other currencies is altogether unnecessary, or that at least it should come as the end-result of inflation and not as the initial step. This view is supported by, among others, Walter Lippmann, John Chamberlain writing in The New Republic and The New Republic editorially. Some of the arguments by which the idea is defended are astonishing. "Business and prices move first," says The New Republic; "they are the causes of what happens to money, not results." We cannot believe that The New Republic seriously intended to say this. Was it a mysterious rise in prices of 600 percent in France and Italy from 1914 to 1926 that caused those two countries to inflate their currencies? Or was it inflation of the currency that caused the rise of prices? Was it a rise of 300,000,000 percent in the German price level in 1923 that caused the issuance of sextillions of paper marks; or was it the other way round? There is only one answer to these questions.

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The New Republic does not hold the theory that prices depend directly upon the volume of currency and credit, but rather that an increase of currency and credit *in use*—that is, being spent—is likely to increase prices (though it may not do so). We doubted from the first the efficacy of large open-market purchases by the central banks as a means of stimulating more business activity or a rise in prices, and still do so; the basic reason is that increased bank reserves do not necessarily produce more borrowing and spending.

The New Republic did seriously intend to say that business and prices move first and are causes of what happens to money. When prices rose in France and Italy from 1914 to 1926, gold devaluation of the franc and lira did not start the process, but ended it. The sequence of events was, roughly, (1) the governments ordered large amounts of war materials, thus stimulating business and starting prices up, (2) banks issued large amounts of credit to finance business and government purchasing, (3) prices rose so rapidly, and government purchasing (with borrowed bank funds) expanded so greatly that the amounts of currency and credit in use threatened to assume a larger ratio to the gold reserves than was permitted by law or custom, (4) convertibility of currency into gold was suspended, (5) expanded service of the government debt, necessitating new borrowing, again increased government spending which carried inflation ever higher, (6) the franc and the lira were stabilized at a level roughly corresponding to the one already reached, by resumption of gold payments on a new parity—*i. e.*, by devaluation. In Germany the process went on until the value of the old mark disappeared altogether.

The Nation apparently would have us believe that all this sort of thing took place simply because people thought that pieces of paper money would in the future buy less gold than in the past and so demanded more of these pieces than before for each article sold. Personally we never bought any gold and never expect to do so; we are much more interested in the prices of other commodities and services. If, now, the government would devaluate the dollar in terms of beefsteak or houses (and would issue to us enough new money to enable us to pay higher prices) we would prick up our ears.

When Mr. John Chamberlain wrote in our pages that "gold is only used to settle balances between central banks," he did not mean of course that when two countries are on a gold basis, anybody may not order the import or export of gold for a profit if the currencies vary in value relative to each other. But this is merely the mechanics by which specific gold exports or imports occur, and even then gold is not always actually transferred. When we look at all the international transactions of a country, it is obvious that the net shipments of gold fill the hole which is left when the exports of one nation to the other, visible and invisible, are of greater or less value than its imports. It is the lack of balance in payments which determines the difference in the supplies of the bills of exchange of the two countries, which in turn determine their relative prices, which in turn lead to shipments of gold. Gold shipments settle the balance and restore the exchange parity.

The Nation asks, "Was it a sudden shift in the trade balance that caused the pound to depreciate 25 percent within twenty-four hours after England announced the suspension of gold payments?" No, the trade balance remained substantially the same. What had held the value of the pound up, in spite of the "adverse" trade balance (including in trade transfers of money and credit), was the fact that gold shipments were continually flowing out of England to fill the gap and keep the total balance of payments even. When gold export was cut off, there were many more pounds seeking to buy dollars than dollars seeking to buy pounds, and consequently pounds promptly obeyed the law of supply and demand by falling. When we embargoed gold shipments, speculative transfer of funds from this country caused the dollar to sink, in spite of our "favorable" trade balance. We strongly suspect that this movement is temporary, no matter what this country does about gold.

From Campus to Breadline

RECENTLY a college graduate, interested in discovering how many Harvard men of the class of 1932 had been able to obtain jobs, found upon investigation that of the 490 men who were graduated in that year not more than 25 had succeeded in obtaining permanent positions. Impressed by these figures he investigated other leading colleges and discovered that the average was constant for them all. However, general information on the amount of unemployment among college graduates and professionals is on the whole difficult to gather, as there have been no definite or official reports about these two groups. In an attempt to fill in this gap, Miss H. M. Emery and Miss C. Haider have for some weeks been gathering statistics on the subject of unemployment among the professional class and among college graduates.

In New York City, they report, there are 3,324 professionals at present receiving work relief from the Gibson Committee. Among them are 610 engineers, 954 teachers, 307 accountants, 17 physicians and 32 lawyers and law clerks. A report of the Bar Association of New York City, based on letters to members of the Bar admitted in the first and second judicial departments in 1925, shows that unemployment among lawyers was 16 percent even in 1930. This percentage is based on total discontinuance of practice, not on those frequent cases where the practice is only nominal. Of those employed, 32 percent received less than $750 in the first year of their practice. The incomes reported for 1930 (the letters were sent out in March, 1931) were, for 13

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percent, less than $2,000; for 23 percent, less than $3,000. This was before salary cuts became general and before clients acquired the habit of not paying.

The High School Teachers' Association estimates that about 15,000 eligible teachers are waiting for openings in New York City, but for some mysterious reason they are not officially regarded as unemployed. The Teachers' Union estimates their number at 5,000, but again they are not counted as unemployed. Moreover, the Teachers' Union practically admits that it is interested chiefly in maintaining present salary standards of those employed. At the same time, 954 teachers are supported in New York City by the Unemployment Relief Committee. There are no statistics available on the unemployment of college professors. The Brookings Institution, of Washington, D. C., which formerly was considered one of the best stepping stones into a good position for a young political scientist and economist, has found great difficulty in placing any of its research fellows during the last two years. One enterprising young man put an entire year's work into making contacts with universities and colleges throughout the country. He applied to 350 institutions and found only one opening.

Statistics on unemployment among engineers are fortunately more accessible. H. M. Friend, in an article in Power, estimated that as many as 17 percent of the graduate engineers throughout the country were unemployed in October, 1931, when the depression had only begun. In December of the same year he stated that 62 percent of that year's graduates had not found any employment. Unfortunately he was unable to give information about the number of young engineers employed in non-engineering positions, though there is little doubt that many have grabbed at any job within their reach. Since last October, 2,532 engineers have applied for jobs at the Professional Engineers' Committee on Unemployment; but of the 498 who found work, only 73 were awarded permanent engineering positions. The others obtained casual employment through the Emergency Work Bureau or on the staff of the Committee itself. Of the 17,000 engineers in New York City only 2,500 applied for work at the Professional Engineers' Committee. The chemists estimate that from 30 to 45 percent are unemployed in their profession. The architects estimate the same amount, though it is difficult to work out the percentage because of the vague line of demarcation between architects and draughtsmen.

The employment agencies affiliated with professional organizations have met with little success. Work paid by the relief funds of the organizations, work in fields different from the original profession has helped but little. In the mutual-work exchanges, moreover, where shoes are bartered for plumbing, bread for mending, lemon-méringue pie for baby clothes, we find only a few members of the professional groups—a few dentists and lawyers who accept scrip for their services. The newest attempt is fostered by the Carnegie Corporation, which gave a large sum of money to the Gibson Committee to organize new channels of absorption for the unemployed and to undertake their retraining. Those who applied for advice were largely of the professional or intellectual group. The success of this attempt is, however, dubious, for to retrain a highly skilled professional for pretzel making or similar work will not only close the door to future development in his own field, but it wastes society's most precious resource—the trained human brain. Overproduction of trained minds among millions of illiterates, destitute physicians among hundreds of thousands who die without medical care, is neither more nor less a paradox than having too much bread, too many shoes, too much of everything when people go hungry and in rags.

Unemployment and destitution of the intellectual worker have a graver significance than the plight of a class. In this world, where factories, schools, hospitals and even political parties and labor unions cannot be operated without the knowledge of experts, we rarely visualize their real importance. They hold the keys for the functioning of our complicated world. They interpret past events and draw the lines for the future. Invention, education, propaganda, organization, come through them to the masses.

The fear of losing one's job breeds a servility which is the psychological basis both for economic exploitation and political dictatorship. Where the professor can teach only if he takes an oath of allegiance to the ruling political government; where the best supporters of a party which professes race hatred are students whose only chance of creating new openings is by violence; where the new "élite" to which the country entrusts itself for life and death is made up of favorites of dictators whom we called adventurers of the worst type only a short while before they attained power—there democracy, and with it potential culture and economic security, is doomed.

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Break the Housing Blockade!

I: The Reality of the Shortage

THERE is now an acute shortage of dwellings in the United States. This condition is the result of an almost complete abandonment of domestic building during the last two years. But although inklings of this shortage have begun hopefully to appear in the real-estate sections of our metropolitan newspapers, it has been disguised by the fact that there is an apparent surplus of dwellings. This surplus has been used as an unanswerable argument against governmental participation in housing. But how has the "surplus" arisen? There is no magic about it: the superficial excess of dwelling space is due to the fact that under pressure of poverty thousands of families have doubled up or have moved to the country. Internal dwelling congestion, which was once the peculiar property of the lowest-third income group, has now spread to people who, though once in the upper ranges, have been pushed down to the lowest level.

If the economic situation does not improve, the better part of the population will continue to live under conditions of intense discomfort and inconvenience in the poor, overcrowded, rundown, unhygienic quarters they now occupy. This in itself raises a new housing problem grave enough to rouse to action any reasonably alert and intelligent government. But if economic conditions do improve, the crisis will only be sharpened: for the population will tend to shake loose once more into its pre-depression domestic quarters; and meanwhile *no provision* has been made either for the replacement of the houses that annually pass out of use, or for building additional quarters to take care of the natural increase in population.

What will happen? The shortage at the end of the World War gives us a very fair notion. There will be a ferocious competition for bare shelter; and this will be reflected in a rise in rents and in an attempt on the part of the landlords to recapitalize values which are now deflated or threatened with deflation. (It should be noted that the greatest excess of quarters is among the highest-income groups, and it is here, not among the lowest groups, that rentals have most drastically fallen.) In an effort to ease the distress, such poor, feeble, inadequate standards of housing as now exist will be lowered still further, and dwellings will be built hastily for profit—possibly, with the subsidy of tax exemption as extra bait for the profiteer—without any attempt to relate the new housing to the new industrial needs or to apply to building any of the advances in design and construction and maintenance which have been instituted during the last ten years. The result, around our large cities, will be acres of new slums, the original cost and the upkeep of which will only add to the burden already created by reckless expansion.

Only one thing can avert this housing shortage: that is the institution of a national program of housing on a scale commensurate with the necessity. By a national program I mean a program of housing laid down by the central government and supported by ample funds lent at low rates of interest by the government. The houses themselves must, for economy, durability and social effectiveness, be designed as parts of community units—villages, urban neighborhoods, whole towns—and they must be placed with regard to the probable industrial and regional needs of the country as a whole in the future—without respect to past massings of population or to the vested interests now clamoring for support in areas which may be earmarked for early obsolescence and displacement.

Under the impulse given by the Reconstruction Finance Act, a slight effort was made to provide government-assisted housing in the few states whose local initiative had provided laws for assisting the building of dwellings for wage earners by limited-dividend corporations which met the state's requirements for housing standards and rents. But this move immediately awakened the opposition of the realty interests, the banks and the insurance companies. For the potential new building threatened not only to ease the shortage, but, by reason of its higher standards, to provide sharp competition to the deteriorated, overcrowded, obsolete dwellings of the past.

II: Sentiment and the Slums

In the provisions that covered housing in the R.F.C. act there was an unfortunate joker; namely, funds were to be loaned for the purpose of slum clearance *and* the dwellings that were to be erected in their stead were to be low in cost and self-liquidating. Quite apart from the preposterous rates of interest that the R.F.C. advisers originally demanded, this provision would alone have been enough to rob the act of its full usefulness, even if the R.F.C. had actually put any money into action. For slum replacement is *high-cost* housing, and if we wish to produce cheap dwellings it is to raw land or to blighted—*i. e.*, financially deflated—areas that we must turn.

Now the notion of slum replacement as the sole justifiable motive for government-aided housing is sticky with that false sentiment which always springs out of the bad consciences of the bourgeoisie, and which usually exudes like the sap of

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the maple tree in spring precisely at the moment when some new piece of polite brigandage is on the point of being attempted. For two points must be noted. First: slum dwellings cannot be demolished and replaced by self-liquidating dwellings unless the original tenants are replaced by those from much higher income groups. Failing a subsidy, slum clearance drives the existing slum dwellers from one set of foul, insanitary quarters to another set equally foul, overcrowded and insanitary. Second: slum replacement tends to maintain realty values in old slum areas; and in districts like the lower East Side of New York, for example, slum replacement is perhaps the only measure which will keep those values from declining steadily. Already prices have fallen from $17 and $20 per square foot to between $6 and $9. *If there is to be effective replanning of such areas in large neighborhood units for the benefit of the lower-income groups, land values must fall still farther.* One dollar per square foot would be generous compensation for these sordid properties, considering that the fancy values of the past were based upon the brutal exploitation of poverty, congestion and inertia. But note this: the first company actually to get funds from the R.F.C. was a purely commercial organization, the Fred F. French Company. This organization, by assuming the lamblike guise of a limited-dividend corporation, has salvaged a bad investment made in boom days, and by lifting land values up to the absurd figure of $13 a square foot, has, with the benign and scandalous sanction of the State Housing Board and the R.F.C., made any serious reconstruction of the East Side impossible.

Premature slum replacement in blighted areas, then, works far more to the advantage of the existing realty interests than it does to the classes who are the objects of their solicitude. Moreover, the tearing down of the old quarters keeps the market stable, whereas the building of new dwellings in empty parts of the city, as was proposed in the excellent Hillside housing scheme for the Bronx, which was long delayed by the vigorous opposition, would increase the absolute number of dwellings, lessen the quantitative shortage and prevent the recovery of congestion values in the older areas. To focus the entire interest of housing on the replacement of urban slums—and then effectually to prevent any work being done even in that limited territory—was the double triumph of the housing blockades. As for the rest of us, the proper strategy is to forget about the slums as a special problem: they should be dealt with only as they enter into a rational plan for integrating housing, community planning, agriculture and industrial production. When we have built enough good houses in the right places the slums will empty themselves; and if they are in the wrong situation, they will become open spaces or they will be utilized for other purposes than housing. There is nothing sacred or necessarily immortal about a slum.

III: Housing Means Regional Planning

There is still another reason why we should not pay too much attention to the crocodile tears that are wept over slum housing: the centers in which the demand for slum replacement is most strenuous are not necessarily those which will recover most quickly from the crisis and be able to occupy them, neither will they necessarily be the points of maximum advantage in the new industrial order. The example of Germany should serve us as a warning: for the last three years her leading cities have been losing population steadily, and the metropolitan areas, in which industry alone is the sole support of the population, are in a state of unstable equilibrium. Unemployment insurance is not by itself a sufficient safeguard against fluctuations in industry; our new cities must have agricultural belts and internal gardens capable of raising fruits and green vegetables in sufficient quantity to eke out the family income and to provide a healthier environment and more sanative forms of recreation than our crowded, dreary, asphalted, urban environments now do.

The laying out of this new type of city cannot be left to the subdivider and the realty speculator, or even to the mechanically minded municipal engineer: these industrious agents of progress have done sufficient damage in their own right already. Nor can it be left to the sporadic actions of individuals, for it involves a complicated technical survey of natural resources, soils, climate, power and industrial opportunities; and it involves the application of the new techniques of design and plan that have been laid down notably by Messrs. Martin Wagner, Fritz Schumacher and Ernst May in Germany, and by Messrs. Clarence Stein and Henry Wright in America. In order to effect a maximum economy in the building of these new housing communities, every device of large-scale planning and operation, along with coördinated industry and cooperative living, must be introduced. The individual is powerless to effect these economies.

For the main point, the point that distinguishes modern housing from that which was done in the past, is that the house does not exist by itself and it cannot be planned by itself: the unit of the new type of housing is the community, and the new type of community is one which combines both urban and rural, both industrial and agricultural, advantages. To think of the housing of the future in terms of either the congested metropolitan community or the old-fashioned handicraft village, is to forget what the problem of distributing the population and setting it to work again actually is. It is the problem of renewing, reorganizing, and in many cases relocating the present industrial and social structure of society; but it has nothing to do with the notion —which the fantastic Nazis have injected into the present housing program in Germany—of returning to the self-sufficient peasant economy of the fabulous past. Housing means community plan-

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ning: community planning means regional planning; and this entire program requires, in turn, if it is to finance and build a sufficient quantity of new communities, the bringing into existence of a central department in Washington, organized like the government housing corporations during the War. Our overgrown metropolitan districts, with their emphasis upon "speculative living," with their municipal treasuries already completely bankrupted by the reckless building of subways, paved streets, water mains, sewer mains, double-decked traffic arteries and distant reservoirs, are not the proper agents to bring about the redistribution of the housing facilities of the country. Without a definite regional-planning program, framed for the entire country, we shall not merely build the wrong kind of houses for the wrong people: but we shall put them in the wrong place, and as likely as not, we shall throw a considerable amount of good money after bad. The individual, hit-or-miss methods of the past in housing are no longer adequate for our complicated and interrelated industrial civilization.

IV: Self-help and the Manufactured House

Short of letting the inertia, the shortage and the eventual muddle and hardship take their "natural" course, there are but two alternatives to the policy of government aid for housing with the community as the unit of development. They have both been solemnly put forward by a dozen interested groups; and they are both unsound and self-defeating.

One of them is offered by the people who would return to the good old days of self-help and individual labor: they would solve the problem of unemployment by making every individual his own employer and day laborer. The government might provide land and capital and possibly, as in the German "Landsiedlung," equipment and technical instruction, but the individual worker would build his own house, work on his own farm and produce his own goods. The prospect might be admirable but for the fact that the solution does not propose to restore the country to even the limited productivity of the so-called era of prosperity: it merely proposes that we accept the lower level proudly endured by our ancestors. Unfortunately, the family level would be even lower than that of a hundred and fifty years ago, since motor cars, steam-engines and power plants will not automatically vanish into thin air; and if we maintain any of these pieces of apparatus, on our grandfathers' income, there will be a lower standard of living in the household than they knew. To solve the housing problem on the basis of the individual worker building his own house is merely to shut one's eyes to the fact that no solution is possible without general industrial and agricultural rehabilitation, and the way to achieve this is not to descend to a more primitive level which will make the present state of unemployment permanent.

The other remedy is just the opposite of the self-help one. It is the proposal to manufacture individual-unit houses in factories by mass-production methods and create a better product at a lower cost, particularly a lower labor cost, than the present house. The manufactured house that is just being put upon the market does not compete seriously with the site-fabricated house that is now available at a much lower cost for the lowest-income groups: so in its initial stage it does not look like a very potent weapon for relieving the depression. Nor will it contribute, as communal housing assuredly would, to a revival of the building trades: rather it threatens them with technological extinction in the domestic field. But aside from these facts, the manufactured house labors under precisely the same social and economic disadvantages as the shoddiest product of the individual realtor. That is to say, the individual manufactured house exists in a social vacuum: the regional location, the provision of streets, schools, transportation systems, the entire development of the house in space and time, is to be left to the untutored self-interest of the individual owners. This is the policy that has already resulted in the large-scale bankruptcy of our big cities and the destruction of some of the fairest and finest sites in our countryside; and it answers to the happy formula by which the business system of the past was run: complete mechanical integration in the factory with equally complete moral and social anarchy in society at large. I have few doubts of the possible excellences of the new manufactured units by themselves, but the fact is that they do not and cannot function by themselves: they are part of a communal environment; and without communal rationalization and integration, the manufactured house is as much a menace to an orderly integration of housing and industry as the worst jerrybuilder's slum. *Instead of being a mechanical substitute for social planning,* as the romantic souls who yearn for the mechanical house and all the juicy profits they see flowing from it fancy, *the manufactured house, by the very facilities it offers for fabrication and assemblage and easy sale, increases the need for social planning.*

The moral should be obvious: until we have established a consistent program of regional planning, community building and housing, the manufactured house will only add to the chaos of existing conditions; and we should therefore place a heavy tax upon it in order to retard its introduction. When we have a more socialized and rationalized order, the manufactured unit will doubtless be a valuable element in the new program of housing: but the community program must come before the mechanical achievement. Without the new community, the manufactured house is, by any realistic standard, obsolete.

This brings us back to the only proposals sufficiently comprehensive and rational and thorough to meet the situation.

A government housing program:

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1. *Ample government funds lent at low rates of interest and a long-term amortization, at the least—as in Europe—fifty years.*

2. *The building of communal units, based on the most advanced standards of design, and meeting the needs of the next generation, for health, comfort, child-rearing, recreation and leisure.*

3. *The relating of these communal units to the emerging regional, industrial and agricultural pattern.*

That looks like a fairly solid piece of ground to jump for, as we pick our way out of the present swamp.

LEWIS MUMFORD.

Why an Economic Conference?

AS THE convocation of the World Monetary and Economic Conference draws nearer, the question is still being asked whether there is any sense in holding such a parley. The post-war period has been overcrowded with conferences called to diagnose or cure the economic ills of the world. Few of these gatherings have yielded positive results. Even those which have been judged most successful satisfied at best but a small part of what had been more or less confidently expected of them. And this will, in all probability, be also the fate of the forthcoming conference.

Anyone who takes the trouble to study the more important of these parleys will clearly see that they all have this significant characteristic in common: they have dealt invariably with problems which are of direct concern to a large number of nations, in some cases to all the nations of the world. It is also evident that the conferences have been of two distinct kinds: those devoted to the liquidation of specific problems, as exemplified by the reparations parleys, and those called for the purpose of coördinating and modifying general policies, such as the International Financial Conference at Brussels in 1920, the International Conference at Genoa in 1922 or the World Economic Conference at Geneva in 1927.

The great multiplication of economic problems that are of immediate and direct concern to a large number of nations is one of the heritages of the World War. The manner in which that conflict was conducted was partly responsible for this. During the fateful years of actual hostilities, practically the whole world was divided into two camps. In each of the camps resources had to be husbanded with the utmost care and allocated with an eye to the greatest benefit of the group as a whole. There had to be, consequently, a larger degree of coördination of economic policy and action than had ever been known before, and the conference method of accomplishing this was an inevitable development.

The peace settlement itself was preëminently a collective affair. It brought into being problems which became the joint responsibility of a large number of nations. Such, for example, was the reparations problem. In its development agreement became necessary among the creditors and a large measure of coöperation was needed between the creditors and the debtors. At the same time it became one of the principal objects of political passions within each of the countries concerned. National politics was constantly projected into international discussions, but at the same time, international discussions exerted a profound influence on the course of domestic attitudes.

When we consider conferences dealing with general policies, the situation is rendered more difficult by the fact that joint responsibility, while no less real, is much less apparent. The problem of national sovereignty is interjected. There is no question of any derogation of sovereignty in a joint decision on reparations payments. But such a question immediately thrusts itself forward the moment problems like those of customs tariffs and other trade restrictions are discussed. It has continuously obtruded itself into all post-war attempts to solve problems of this sort by joint international action.

It has become trite to speak of the economic interdependence of nations. This phrase has been on our lips for many years. Yet, though it has acquired the nature of a truism through constant reiteration and though it has been translated into action in only a limited degree and into conscious national attitudes in an even smaller measure, it has lost none of its significance or basic truth. And the principle involved has been the major premise upon which the post-war economic conferences have been based.

The War did not bring this interdependence into being, but it accentuated it to an unprecedented degree. The world conflict and its inevitable aftermath produced a profound economic dislocation all over the world. It placed our whole economic civilization in a position where a retreat to pre-war norms meant disaster and where the only hope of survival and progress lay in developing new forms of action. And one of the primary requirements has been joint international responsibility for basic economic policy and action.

These changing circumstances have been only slowly reflected in national attitudes. The inertia of these attitudes, too frequently bolstered up under democracy by ignorance and demagoguery, is a potent, but by no means an insurmountable, obstacle. In the overcoming of this obstacle international conferences are an important factor. There

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are cases, no doubt, when, in the words of an able American political observer, "an international conference is a place where national politicians seek—and frequently obtain—a domestic alibi for their failure to solve their national problems." But much more often the reverse is true, and the influence of joint consultation and compromise agreement by the conference method becomes a powerful contributing factor in the modification of national attitudes.

The principal field of usefulness for international conferences lies in the coördination of national action. When a specific problem is the subject of discussion, as at the reparations parleys, the amount of immediate action obtained is the measure of success or failure. But when far-reaching and more or less general policies are at stake, the foundation laid for national action along lines of a common orientation is the real touchstone of success.

For example, the Lausanne conference, after agreement on the reparations problem had been reached, recommended the following topics for discussion at a new world economic and financial conference:

> Financial questions: monetary and credit policy; exchange difficulties; the level of prices; the movement of capital.
>
> Economic questions: improved conditions of production and interchange, with particular attention to tariff policy; prohibition and restriction of exports and imports; quotas and other barriers to trade; producers' agreements.

All these topics have a familiar ring, reminiscent of Brussels, Genoa and Geneva. But if there is one thing that the succession of conferences has taught us, it is that while each of these problems requires national action, the efficacy of such action on the part of each country will depend, in large measure, upon what other countries do along the same lines. A development like a general lowering of tariffs or a widespread reëstablishment of the gold standard —the two great problems with which the forthcoming conference will have to deal—is not likely to be inaugurated by a single nation on its own initiative. Experience has taught us that it is much more likely to come about as a result of concerted action by a group of nations, growing out of an international conference. Herein lies the special utility of the conference method.

Those who sigh for the times when international conferences were not necessary except on very rare occasions really sigh for the times when the life of nations, as well as of individuals, was much less complicated than it is today, when the various fields of economic and political activity within and among nations were not so closely interwoven, and when dislocation in any one of these fields was not so swiftly transmitted to all the others. The growth of democracy in political life; its extension into the domains of economic and social relations; the unprecedented developments in the technique of production, distribution and communication have been factors contributing to this complexity. When decisions have not only to be made, but also justified to and ratified by large masses of people, they are necessarily more difficult to make. Dictators could, perhaps, make them for us more easily and swiftly. Whether, in the long run, their decisions would be better is at least open to question.

International conferences are a part of the slow, cumbersome machinery of democracy. If there is any validity in the basic tenets of democracy, then such conferences are necessary, at least in the present stage of the evolving methodology of democratic government. Not the least important phase of the conference method is its publicity, which has serious shortcomings, but also a significant value. The consideration of vital problems in the glare of publicity often leads to excessive caution on the part of statesmen and to speech-making for home consumption. But it just as often leads to readier modifications of ideas and facilitates a more rapid popular acceptance of new ideas. This, too, is characteristic of democratic procedure.

For those who believe that democracy is a stage of historic devolution rather than evolution, international conferences, like parliamentary government, are a snare and a delusion. For those, on the other hand, who believe that the processes of democracy "grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small," international conferences in the field of economics and finance, as well as in other fields of international action, are a necessary and useful part of the present-day scheme of relations among nations.

LEO PASVOLSKY.

Class War in the Corn Belt

THE AMERICAN countryside today presents a dismal picture. Twelve years of farm depression have left it under a pall of misery and revolt. Fences, houses, barns, silos, stand in disrepair. Farm machinery lies rusting in the fields. Livestock, not worth the freight to market, is left to die on the grazing fields of the Northwest, while acres of root crops rot in the Midwestern truck lands and tons of fruit on the Western coast are used for fertilizer or fed to hogs. Starvation is prevalent among the Southern share-croppers and suicides in the rural districts throughout the land have become more and more frequent.

At present the farmer receives only one-half of the pre-war prices for his produce. His land has depreciated one-third in value. He pays over two and one-half times as much in taxes, one and one-half times as much in freight rates and one-tenth more for the products he buys. A half-million farmers have lost their status as landowners in the last three years and many more are now on the verge of foreclosure. There has been an accelerated increase in farm tenancy with concentration of farm ownership in the hands of large banks and insurance companies. These tenants, numbering nearly

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one-half of the total farm population, are even worse off. They are constantly harried by landlords for "cash rent" or threatened with eviction or chattel foreclosure.

These conditions precipitated the sudden blaze of farm revolt last fall. The picketing around Sioux City, Iowa, spread to twelve states and has continued sporadically ever since. Out of this struggle there arose more reasoned and fundamental forms of attack. The farmers of North Dakota and Montana, pauperized by three years of drought, had been stopping farm sales by direct mass action for two years. Nebraska farmers accepted these tactics as a short cut toward relieving farm distress. Their slogan was, "Human Rights Are Above Legal and Property Rights." They formed a radical farm organization, patterning its program after the left-wing United Farmers' League, and began organizing. In three months they had five thousand members. By April 1, 1933, thirty thousand farmers had signed up. The idea spread like prairie fire and at the present moment the country is faced by a "starvation" strike which may surpass in violence and bloodshed any previous organized revolt by the Western farmers.

United-front conferences were called in Nebraska, North and South Dakota and Iowa. In Nebraska 6,000 farmers attended the conference, and with the slogan of "Wives and Children Have the First Mortgage" marched on the capitol, demanding sweeping moratoria on all farm debts, drastic reduction of farm taxes, production credit, abolition of the state militia, more funds for rural schools and the reduction of all sales taxes. Similar programs were drawn up at other conferences. The North Dakota farmers warned their legislators that these demands would solve only immediate problems and that permanent relief must come through a government of workers and farmers.

The Red scare is frequently raised against the leaders of these organizations in an attempt to disrupt future activities. Many methods are used in a frantic attempt to stem the tide of revolt which threatens the legal and property rights of the small-town plutocrats. Three Farmers' Holiday Association organizers were run out of Springview, Nebraska, by the county officials at the instigation of the local banker. Provocateurs are sent to disrupt large mass meetings. Attorney generals have issued instructions to county sheriffs to deputize as many men as necessary in order that "all sales be conducted as prescribed by law."

The stopping of sheriffs' sales reached such proportions that several large insurance companies were forced into moratorium declarations. The Iowa and Nebraska Governors established Conciliation Boards in each county to arbitrate banker-farmer disputes. These bodies were appointed and composed of the local banker, a business man and one or two farmers. The decisions rendered by these supposedly impartial bodies soon convinced the farmers that their unofficial "Trouble Centers" meted out more favorable justice. These boards failed in both states and were permitted to die.

When the Iowa revolt reached the stage of threatened hangings, which occurred at three sales within one week, the state legislature passed a moratorium law designed to ease the situation. The farmers breathed a sigh of relief. The state had apparently made direct action against foreclosures unnecessary. One week after the moratorium law was passed, foreclosure notices reappeared in the papers. Upon investigation it was discovered that the law had assigned discretionary powers to the district judges in the matter of foreclosures, and the judges were deciding in favor of the mortgage holders in the majority of cases. The call to action again resounded throughout the countryside and crowds of disillusioned but determined farmers again took up the only cudgel that yielded results —direct action. This occurred during the middle of February. By April 1 foreclosures in Iowa had ceased in the well organized territories.

In answer to the demands of the 6,000 embattled Nebraska farmers on February 16, Lieutenant-Governor Jurgensen announced that "when this legislature has adjourned, the members of this conference will not be disappointed." The following day Governor Bryan called a joint session of the House and Senate and pushed through a moratorium law. But, as in Iowa, foreclosure notices continued to be posted. Three hundred irate farmers, with a delegation of unemployed from Lincoln, gathered at Wilber, Nebraska, to carry out the intention rather than the letter of the new law. A few minutes before the scheduled time of the sale, deputies forcibly evicted the crowd from the courthouse with the use of tear gas. Seventeen farmers and unemployed, including Harry Lux, chief organizer for the Nebraska Holiday Association, were arrested and held in total bail of $18,000. Three charges were filed carrying a maximum penalty of five years.

Events of the last two months indicate that the farmer revolt is entering a new stage. From a purely offensive position the farmers are now forced to assume defensive measures. The farmer opposition, those who hold the mortgages and rent the farms, has now organized and is marshaling all local police to enforce ancient as well as newly created laws to combat the striking farmer. Imbued for years with a respect for penitentiary offenses, the farmers are momentarily nonplussed. But out of this mass vacillation appear groups determined to tackle the new danger.

The unexampled growth of these militant farm organizations and their many direct-action victories present a serious problem to the ruling class. Of one thing we may be certain. The American farmer, faced with the prospect of losing the fruits of a life's toil with consequent moral and physical degradation, will not peacefully submit to what he has come to recognize as "bankers' law."

LEIF A. DAHL.

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The Other Nation

AFTER a man has been out of a job for many months, for a year, or for two years, he becomes, the psychologists report, "adjusted" in some wise—adjusted or slightly mad. His friends would no longer understand him, nor his relatives, if he has any. They, the miraculously fortunate employed, could know nothing of his somewhat pathological mentality, the survival traits or protective coloration he develops; nothing of the special routine of his new life, its undernourishment, indignity, vacuity, leisure, chronic fatigue. Yesterday a vigorous, optimistic American; today he tends to drop out of sight, avoids even writing to his people after a time. For he is a citizen of the Other Nation. . . .

With relief facilities so greatly improved, the chances of finding a retreat of peaceful idleness are now excellent—if a man is not too thin-skinned. In New York, he need only give up the hunt for illusory jobs, the dodging of creditors, and, swallowing his pride, if he has any left, go down to South Ferry, where the Central Registration Bureau for the homeless is located in the big, dingy, abandoned ferry house on South Street, corner of Whitehall Place. Here, after waiting in a long line of shabby, threadbare men, who usually carry their belongings under their arms, in a paper parcel wrapped with string, he must answer a welfare officer's cursory, routine questions and fill out an identification card giving his name, age and other details, such as "where slept last night."

He may apply for meals only, if he has a floor to sleep on or a nook in the subway, and receive a ticket good for two meals a day at a Salvation Army canteen. Or he may upon request have both bed and board in the lodging-house system, the card of invitation being good for two weeks and renewable in either case. These arrangements are granted only if a man avows himself a New Yorker of two years' residence in the state and one year's in the city. Strangers, if they so declare themselves, are given only one night's refuge and then ordered to move on. (What becomes of them nobody knows. They may be riding in the subway still.)

In this new life there are always lines to be waiting in; it has its particular tempo, too. At the ferry house, which is also used as an annex of the lodging-house system, with dormitories in the old waiting rooms housing 1,500, the crowd of men-without-jobs lines the approaches in the early afternoon and flows up the steps to the great, open, wind-swept gallery fronting South Street. They are waiting for supper, which will be served at five o'clock. Policemen drive the cheerless crowd along the gallery much in the way that cattle are driven in. A guard stationed at the farther end and leading to the dining hall shouts the signal: "All right!" And relays of men race across the gallery. They run with the queer, shambling gait that bespeaks worn shoes and flat feet. The indignity, the rude discipline, that attends the daily race for the bowl of stew is of course unintentional and impersonal.

The newcomer is most likely sent first to the long established city "flop-house" or "Munie" at 435 East Twenty-fifth Street, opposite Bellevue. Here there are special conveniences for his reception. In due time he passes in line before the food counter, taking up his twenty-ounce bowl of stew, which sometimes has beef in it—when the mayor or the legendary "Mr. Gibson" visits—but more usually is a coarse vegetable stew, reddish brown or brown-yellow in color; he partakes also of three slices of stale bread and a tin cup of weak coffee. Supper is brief and gloomy; there is little conversation at the long pine tables, for other relays of men stand by, with folded arms, silently waiting their turn.

Now everybody makes ready to go to bed; though it may be only six, or half-past six, there is literally nothing else to do. One may not smoke or read during the evening; all clothing, all belongings are handed in to a checkman in the large dressing room adjoining the cafeteria. Our new man, along with scores of others, disrobes completely, and wears only a brass check given as receipt for his clothing, which is rushed down on a sort of hand-car to the fumigating chamber below, to be baked at a temperature of 220° Fahrenheit. Then he is given a swift doctor's examination; sent in a crowd through a hot shower room, and so, deloused, washed, ticketed and clad in a rough fumigated nightshirt which hangs down to the knees and opens at the sides—so, in a long shuffling nightshirt parade, to bed.

The beds, two-story army cots set close together in endless rows, have numbers which correspond with one's brass check. At the main lodging house, on East Twenty-fifth Street, it is like being in a hospital; at the improvised South Ferry lodging annex, it is like steerage quarters. But at the "Dock" annex, also a temporary shelter, at the foot of East Twenty-fifth Street, it is like nothing else under the sun, save perhaps a scene from Dante. One reposes in the "world's biggest bedroom," made of a covered pier-shed which extends 800 feet over the East River and houses 1,724 idle citizens.

Truly a man need no longer feel himself alone or "forgotten." Here he is in the bosom of an immense family of his fellows who will be coughing and snoring at him all night: hundreds upon

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hundreds of them in their rumpled nightshirts, now sitting up in bed, or climbing out or getting in, or leaning down to talk to a neighbor in the lower bunk, or simply sitting still and staring at their feet. Here are Negroes and whites, Jews and Gentiles of all kinds, their faces haggard and wild under the ghastly light that falls from big lamps overhead, which are turned low not long after seven. The place is warm enough, almost too warm, and filled with a mighty human stench. This stench will become the most familiar thing in the world to the guest of the city's lodging-house system; it is made up in part of the inevitable disinfectants, in part of the odor from the hundreds of human bodies, less sweet than cows', less fragrant than horses'. It will be fixed for good in his rumpled clothing handed back early in the morning, at six a. m., when he is waked for his only other meal of the day: watery oatmeal and black coffee. Then he will be marched out into the street, still grey at seven o'clock—for no loitering is allowed here during the day—in a long line of robots with baggy trousers and disheveled coats, robots without work and a day of leisure before them.

When out of hearing of the rough-and-ready lodging-house officials the guests will admit, without bitterness, that they don't get enough to eat. They say: "Well, the food's good enough for what you pay!" One large man told me that he felt "weak and sleepy during the day." Sometimes he would fall asleep in public libraries, where he was wont to go and repose himself, and would be ejected into the street. But he added, "The libraries are a godsend."

For how shall a man pass the day? The workless walk about restlessly but without hurry. Most of them have been without jobs for a solid year; many for two years. For those jobs that exist or are "made," preference is given to men of families rather than to single men who have none, or who have left their families in the charge of others while they shift for themselves under assumed names. They rest in the parks, in the crowded central squares, spectators of the city's unreeling film. Lacking small necessaries, especially tobacco, they learn after some inward resistance to gather cigar butts, cigarette ends, as well as discarded newspapers, which they read at great length. Finally, at least half of them, no matter how respectable their pasts may have been, begin to "ask" during the day, that is, to beg. An army of panhandlers estimated at 6,000 now covers the city. Then, in the afternoon, from all quarters of the town, there is the slow return of the thousands of idle, rotting drones toward the bread and flop-house lines.

The men who live, sometimes as long as two months, as guests of the city lodging-house system, are chiefly manual laborers, although there is a significant percentage of skilled workers among them. "We are getting a very good class of people in here nowadays," officials say. "Half of them are not bums at all." About one out of six, according to recent reports, are minors who are completing their education in the vast, malodorous barracks of the unemployed. Thus the problem of the single, unattached male is "solved," for the time. No one need starve. No one is really turned away, the authorities state, if he is willing and ready to come in on the terms described.

What of ruined lawyers, doctors, bank clerks or skilled mechanics, who, as the Salvation Army chaplain says, "come from good homes"? To accommodate these derelict bourgeois with a minimum of brutality, there has been set aside at least one shelter that stands somewhat higher in the human scale than the prison-poorhouse idea. It is Gold Dust Lodge, well regarded in the "jungle" for its tolerable cuisine, located at a bend in the East River near the foot of Grand Street. This handsome, white, sunlit building was formerly the factory of the Hecker Flour Company, a subsidiary of the Gold Dust Corporation.

With only two officers of the Salvation Army at their head, 2,000 unemployed, white-skinned, English-speaking white-collar men or mechanics live in Gold Dust Lodge and run it themselves. All the house services, cooking, bed-making, mopping up, bookkeeping, painting and repairs are done for several hours a day by 500 of the men chosen in rotation every ten days. These men are paid with a third "square" of beef and vegetables, since only two meals are served to the rest. The meals, though monotonous enough, are much superior to the quarter-rations of the city lodging-house system, suppers being made of beef stew, spaghetti or beans, repeated during the week, with codfish on Fridays. There is more personal freedom here, too: men may smoke or read in the large living rooms downstairs; they may go out or stay at home during the day as they please. And some of them stay on for five or six months.

The men are definitely better off for having work to do for themselves part of the time. Yet an undeniable melancholy fixes itself over this odd, latter-day monastery where evangelism, though not compulsory, is nevertheless "pushed," as some of the men say. And besides there is the usual mass discipline: early to bed, in Indian file, and early to rise, with hundreds of others in the great white dormitories upstairs. The officer in charge relates that for the new men "the first two or three days here are the hardest."

Most of the men who have been taken in out of the streets seem to grow numbed and submissive in these lodging houses. They have no fight in them. They say: "We don't dare complain. We're afraid of being fired out." They would rather not take part in radical demonstrations, hunger marches and such things; they have a pretty clear notion that the authorities might find out and show displeasure with them. (There are stoolpigeons of a kind, and especially "religious bums.") But they do report that "a blast from Union Square" seems to

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have some miraculous effect the next day in the big flop-houses: the coffee is stronger or beef appears in the stew!

We know that New York gives the lodging-house treatment—still based simply on the theory of the bum—for a month to two months on the average, to between 7,000 and 8,000 men who are willing to endure it. Small pretense of curing them of their ailment; massed in public barracks, they are preserved momentarily on quarter or half-rations for a strange, degrading term. And the hope of the same beneficence is held out to others like them. This is *preventive*. But how or when their term is ended, and what becomes of them afterward remains obscure. Or how many thousands have been turned away for one reason or another is unknown. I have been told of at least one day late in 1932 when the door was closed on 300 men at the South Ferry Registration Bureau. There were no more beds. They were ordered to move on, and scattered after the feeblest murmur of protest. Nor does anyone know how many thousands of freer and hardier spirits, loathing or dreading the public asylums, subsist in Hooverville on the marginal waste of the city's food, or sleep in doorways, in cellars or below the frost-line in subway stations.

These denizens of the docks, the river banks and dump-heaps of our great cities are a curious breed, and the "Middletown" they are creating would repay a long, objective study. A few hours' tour of their quarters would convince anyone that our society,with regard to its seamy fringes, grown so much broader nowadays, is, in actual practice, scarcely less hypocritical and brutal than in the darkest hours of the eighteenth century. In self-protection, in the sheer effort to survive in some form, the people of Hooverville, like the majority of the unemployed, turn themselves into a race of Yahoos.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON.

This is the second of two articles on unemployment relief.—THE EDITORS.

Washington Notes

Adjourning Congress—Pruning the White House Program—The Railroad Bill—Capitol Hill Surrenders

THERE are so many glittering legislative balloons still hovering in the air that it is difficult to keep one's eye upon them all, but the time is arriving when it will be necessary to determine which to bring down before this special session of Congress ends and which to leave suspended until next January, when the regular session convenes.

Great as has been—and still is—the impetus of the administration and its influence over House and Senate, it is quite clear that the complete Roosevelt program cannot be put through in another month. Hence, after a series of conferences, a more or less definite agreement has been reached by the leaders with the White House group as to what to push and what to pass up. There are, I think, sound reasons for believing that Mr. Roosevelt is anxious to obtain an adjournment by June 15. One reason is that this is the date now fixed for the World Economic Conference, and it is not an unnatural desire on the part of the President to have Congress off his hands when the Conference opens.

It is regarded as certain that, once given the power to arrange tariffs and adjust debts, which Mr. Roosevelt shortly will ask of Congress in order effectively to negotiate at the conference, the American delegation will be compelled to make concessions in both directions. Every thoughtful man knows the necessity for such concessions, but he also knows, if he has any experience at all, that the moment they are made there will be a howl from the rabid isolationists. It will be a disadvantage to have Congress bellowing back in Washington while the American delegation is dealing in London. The realization of this is causing administration forces to press for the enactment of selected administration measures, holding out the hope of adjournment by the middle of the month.

The schedule now proposed, if adhered to, is quite as significant for its omissions as for the bills listed for enactment. For example, the thirty-hour-week bill in its present form has been postponed, thus causing Senator Black of Alabama intense pain, as he had, with administration support, visualized its prompt passage. The fact is that more administration support was claimed for this bill than was justified either by the attitude of Miss Perkins, Secretary of Labor, or the President's endorsement of the principle. The administration is, however, inclined to support the Wagner-La Follette measure now in course of preparation.

Other propositions omitted from the program are the bill fixing fiduciary responsibility upon all officers and directors in positions of trust, the World Court protocol and the St. Lawrence Waterways treaty. There are, obviously, reasons for the elimination of all these for immediate action, and heaven only knows there is enough left to occupy every minute of the time remaining. The vital public-works bill is still being rewritten by the White House and the railroad-coördination bill has only just been brought forward. Railroad executives with whom I have talked seem somewhat bitter over the fact that they have not been consulted in drafting the bill. This, they insist, is unusual, not to say reprehensible. Perhaps it would be if this were true, but it just happens not to be. To my personal knowledge one railroad executive has been consulted—to wit, Carl Gray of the Union Pacific, considered by many the greatest railroad in the country.

Mr. Gray was an original supporter of Mr. Roosevelt, was called into conference by the President during the campaign and I gather is pretty close to him now. It is true that Mr. Gray was not one of the executives who appeared at the White House often during the Hoover administration, but he certainly is an executive and his presence in Washington is evidence that the bill is not being framed without advice from railroad administrators.

There promises to be a big fight over this railroad bill before it gets through. There is opposition to it both from

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the railroad presidents and from the Brotherhoods. But to return to the program for the rest of the session—it includes the Glass banking-reform bill, the Muscle Shoals-Tennessee Valley bill, the securities-publicity bill (now modified greatly from its original shape), the home-mortgage bill and, finally, the bill or resolution conferring power on the President to adjust war debts and make reciprocal tariff and trade treaties.

There are those who doubt whether this last will be so easy to get from Congress as previously conferred authority. The Hearst papers have begun to howl loudly about the abrogation of its constitutional authority by Congress and undoubtedly the irreconcilables will make a stand in the Senate against the proposals. However, the chances still are in favor of the administration's getting what it wants if it exerts itself—and clearly it must get this authority so far as debts and treaties are concerned if the World Conference is to get anywhere at all. It will, however, be an amazing thing to see the Senate vote away its power and prerogatives in these two particulars. It will complete the picture of a government transformed in three months so as to place power in the hands of one man.

If present plans go through, there will be many powers which Congress has not retained. It will be reduced, for a considerable period at any rate, to a perfunctory body, which is just about what the people want. In ordinary times Congress would be staggered at being told it was expected to put through in six weeks any such program as has now been laid down, but the President and his advisers are completely confident that the program will be shoved through, even though the time is past when the administration can place the "emergency" label on its measures.

The truth is that though there is plenty of resentment among the so-called sound-money Democrats, there is also a sense of entire futility. When, after Senator Glass's impassioned indictment of the administration proposals sponsored by Senator Thomas, only two other Democrats voted in opposition, the absurdity of opposition is too obvious. For the rest of the session, I believe that there will be no serious effort to block the administration measures except in the matter of debts and tariff-treaty powers—and even there the prospects of successful opposition are pretty feeble.

As the date approaches, interest will be more and more directed toward the London conference. Convinced that the old policies of isolation and high tariffs have broken down, Secretary of State Hull will attend the conference as the head of our delegation determined to fight for a reduction in tariff barriers as the first requisite of international existence. The stabilization of currency seems to some even more basic and immediate, and to others the satisfactory adjustment of the war debts appears the first essential move. The difficulties of the conference are hard to exaggerate, but so, too, is the necessity of avoiding failure if world despair is not to be deepened and catastrophic results are to be averted. For these reasons, the personnel of our delegation is awaited with an interest absent from that of any other representation we have had in an international gathering since the Versailles Peace Conference at the close of the War.

Washington. T. R. B.

Riding on the R.F.C.

New Dealers Up to Old Tricks—National Surety Company—Helping Out the Poor Mortgagors—Financial Ballyhoo

THE BLINDNESS, folly and stupidity of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation continues to be such that in the interest of preserving the temper of the people its activities ought to be curbed or, better still, its personnel completely changed. Men whose notion of "reconstruction" leads them to efforts such as those now revealed in the National Surety Company incident ought to have no place in the New Deal.

The National Surety Company is an insurance company, established to insure "fidelity, surety, burglary, theft, credit and plate-glass" risks. As such a company falls upon evil days it would be interesting to know what claim it has for getting funds from the government to keep it alive. Its stockholders are only 4,150 in number and of the type which calls for no especial wet-nursing on the part of the public. It has no bonds outstanding. Its directors are not objects of public solicitude. They are the typical Wall Street variety and included until this year such shining lights as Mr. Percy Rockefeller and Mr. J. W. Harriman.

What about the persons protected by its risks? Is there any reason why goverment funds should be drawn upon to save a man's burglary insurance or his plate-glass insurance or his bail bond or his official bond of any sort? The National Surety Company, however, wrote one sort of insurance which seems to be calling for the tenderest solicitude of the R.F.C. It guaranteed mortgages. It did not do this directly, but through other mortgage companies. For instance, Mr. A——, a real-estate developer and builder, gets money from a mortgage company on his development. The mortgage company then issues to various investors what are called participating certificates, which certify that they have a five or ten-thousand-dollar interest in that mortgage. The mortgage company guarantees the certificate. The National Surety Company then takes over that guarantee for a stipulated fee.

A good many people have been defaulting on these mortgages. The mortgage company has been called on by the certificate holders to make good. The mortgage company, of course, looks to the National Surety Company to make good. It is strapped and cannot. One wonders on what principle, as part of a national recovery plan, it can ask the United States government to take over such an obligation or any part of it. Such directors and stockholders have no claim upon the bounty of the government. The stockholders have done nicely with this company. In the last twenty-three years they have collected 124 percent in stock dividends and over 244 percent in cash dividends, an average of 6 percent in stock and 10 percent in cash for twenty-three years.

As to the persons holding guaranteed mortgage notes—usually individuals and in a large number of cases professional real-estate investors—it is something new indeed if these people are to become the especial wards of an already overtaxed government. Of course, the home owner doesn't figure in this. Great sums of these mortgages are not on

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the properties of home owners at all. And even so, when a mortgage company guarantees a mortgage and the home owner defaults, and the mortgage company has to pay the note, it takes over the mortgage and still has the right to foreclose on it and undoubtedly will.

In view of these facts, upon what theory of reconstruction policy can the government, which withholds funds to start new construction and thus make new income, dare to advance to this National Surety Company $11,664,313? This, of course, was done under the Hoover regime. But the Hoover regime was not in power in the latter part of March. It is not in power now. And we were informed last week that the R.F.C. has agreed to pay half of every such guaranteed mortgage as it falls due and defaults. Why? The spectacle of this government paying out money to mortgage companies to be paid to their investors is one so unreasonable and, at a time like this, so contrary to the obligations of the government, that it becomes almost an immoral act. Certainly it is one calculated to inflame the minds of those who are appealing for infinitely more worthy objects of public concern.

Now the National Surety Company has been "reorganized." That is, its assets have been divided into two piles —one made up of the good or liquid assets and the other made up of the slow or frozen and nearly worthless assets. A new company has been organized by the State Insurance Commissioner of New York under a new law and all the liquid assets have been transferred to it. The frozen assets are to remain in the hands of the old company. The new company will have the same directors as the old. The liquid assets of the new company are put at $11 million, which is almost precisely the amount loaned by the R.F.C. And now the R.F.C. is being importuned to carry out its pledge of disgorging to the old company 50 percent of every mortgage which falls due and is defaulted. Whether it will do so or not we may gather from its assurance to the Maryland surety companies to the effect that nothing that has happened will interfere with its commitments to refinance guaranteed mortgages.

The use of the money of the people of the United States in any such manner as this should be summarily stopped by those who are to be held responsible for the New Deal. This kind of rescue work belongs to that type described by the President in his inaugural address when he said "they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition." Those who are responsible for such a departure from the high aims of the President's whole underlying policy should at once be removed from around the table and the game.

The practised eye can already detect the appearance of those old tricks of news propaganda which were used in the old days in the stock market. It is necessary to call attention to the fact that nothing has been done, or has even been proposed, about the use of inspired material in the press to boost or depress investments—which is nothing more than publicity to deceive the public about its money. Incidentally, it is good to see the able, well documented and thorough presentation of this whole subject of political, social, industrial and international propaganda which has just been made by Professor Frederick A. Lumly in his new book "The Propaganda Menace." All the old propaganda experts, scenting the possible return of somewhat "bullier" times, are cleaning up their weapons and getting ready for the same old tricks, at least so far as the stock market is concerned.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

Little Ol' Boy

Little Ol' Boy, by Albert Bein. The Playhouse, April 24, 1933.

IF I WERE writing this review of "Little Ol' Boy" in the columns of a newspaper the morning after its first performance I should say go and see it everyone. This play is about prisons and reformatories, as others before it have been. The most conspicuous of these, I suppose, was "The Last Mile," admired and praised by many. Except for the mere outline of the story itself, which was pathetic, if on a familiar pattern, I, for one at least, could feel nothing from this play. With its mechanical horrors and stage devices, prison-escape shootings, raw reproduction of prison actualities and rather overpromoted stage technicalities, it seemed to me only melodrama on another line. The social-justice, taken-from-life, prison-conditions sort of thing is not in itself necessarily of any more importance than any other sort of dramatic material. The last scene, of the youth going to his death, was, thanks to the actor in it, touching; it might even have been heartbreaking if the preceding scenes had not been almost comic Wild West fire, smoke and noise, and if, before that, there had not been so much snappy Broadway punch, no less barbarous for all its expertness.

It seems useful to say this about such a production as "The Last Mile" as one way to approach this new play of a boy's reform school. In the whole course of "Little Ol' Boy" there is not a touch of exhibitionism from director or producer, no Broadway whooping it up. The story begins in one of the dormitories. The familiar themes of brutality, special cases, and so on, are all there but not underscored into stage clichés. The wife of the cottage master has conceived an affection for Robert Locket, one of the younger boys, a theme beautifully conveyed throughout the play, wretchedness, mother instinct, a mere child—description of it only risks a suggestion of banality which is not in the scenes. The bench row of boys left alone with the potato-peeling find themselves somehow concocting a note to the Governor, the impulse to chance so dangerous an act comes from learning that one of them is to be released, his step-father needs him in the store and has wangled matters. A new boy, a real tough, appears, Red Barry, whose brother has been railroaded to the chair. The letter is found, the boys arraigned, Robert Locket, when no information can be wrung from the other boys and Red is accused, stands up and confesses that he wrote the letter. The whole group of them are whipped. Under Red's influence Robert Locket, a shy, gentle boy, is pushed into fighting the others, who have turned against him. Red has become Robert's hero. In the fight arranged behind the barn Robert advances from timidity to frenzy; from pounding his opponent after getting him down he turns on the intervening superintendent and knocks him out with a mattock. The boys run for it, across the fields to the passing train. The next scene, which opens the third act,

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is in a barn. Robert has not been able to stick as the train passed and Red has stayed along with him. The pursuit seems over; they will escape at nightfall. Pursuing yokels are heard outside. The outcome finally is that Robert loses his head—another frenzy—and rushes out among them, a farm hand aims his shotgun lower than he meant and Robert is wounded. The yokels take to their heels; Red carries Robert back to the barn and he dies in Red's arms. The last scene is back in the dormitory. Red is to be sent off to the penitentiary. The cottage master's wife asks if Robert Locket had died in pain, and if he had spoken of her. Red will not tell her, but as they take him off he turns to say that Robert had spoken of her, but had died in his arms.

Such an account of it is an insult to the play, which from the time it really gets started at the end of the first third of it, handles the most complex motives and a varied mixture of actions and effects with subtlety and poignant force. How easy it would have been in all this part of the play, in its whole story in fact, to have got in the obvious and mawkish, the Berlin note of Freudian platitude, the labeling and overimplication that might have brought many to the box office! But my account, however poor, had to be given, partly to show how easily this play could have been only what most others in its field have been, partly as a basis to make comment intelligible.

When I said that in a newspaper review I would have urged everyone to see "Little Ol' Boy" as soon as possible, I meant something entirely honest. There are few things in town half so good as a whole, and nothing at all so moving and so purely done as the best scenes in "Little Ol' Boy." It was, moreover, absorbing most of the time and at the very least it held your attention from start to finish. But this is not a criticism the morning after, with the obvious advantage to the play's prosperity that mere immediacy might afford; and the uses of the comment here can be otherwise applied; and indeed must be, since the play has already been closed for want of audiences. From this second slant I should say that there was no argument for every sort of theatre-goer in favor of "Little Ol' Boy." There was, for example, no love story as such, though I know few plays where the intensity and nuances of relationships come through with such sure and beautiful precision. There was the drabness of the locale, the depressing side of the material; and it is no stupider to dislike a play because it deals with reform-school injustice than to like it because it does. Esthetically, however, is another discussion. Despite the fact that the play holds you to it constantly, it is also true that some of the hold on you—this applies to the first third—can be, as it were, resented. Though I watched them, stirred somewhat and watching closely, I was now and again restive under the scenes as they proceeded. The cause of this did not lie in their being painful; it was a certain externality in them, the unpleasant in them was unpleasant when it should have been made into a part of us, which would be pain: pity and pain, an excitement deriving from a perception of meanings and emphases and delineations, that curious translation of the distressing through art into what is deep, beautiful and terrible, to which we give ourselves and are delivered.

Only in that respect did the directing of the play miss the right result. In the scenes where the boys are seated in a semicircle peeling potatoes there was too much sheer mute drabness; it all dropped into genre, stage genre, good enough in its place but not here where the main parts of the play were the most quivering realism. Certainly not every boy in the school would be flatted out into that monotony; and the flicker in and out of boyish nature—not only for diversity but to show what is being killed in them—or the detailing of individual characterization, one boy as against another, would have engaged us more deeply. The trouble with such stage effects in directing is that the symbol and key of them are too soon obvious and thus lose them some of their pressure. Otherwise Mr. Joe Losey's directing was admirable, for the scene of the fight, the death scene in the barn, and the last scene. The scene in the barn, except for an effect of the boys making too much noise at first, which wastes some of your attention by seeming unlikely, was much more the director's than laymen in the audience would be apt to realize. Mr. Edwin Philips as Robert Locket and Mr. Burgess Meredith as Red were as near perfection as could be imagined, in this long scene with its varied transitions and its pitiful end. They did indeed play, and play together, in a manner that shames the theatre; what these young actors achieved was worth a hundred performances up and down the town. But their very acting told you that they would be the first to see how much of that secure progress and how many of those beautiful gradations were given them by their director.

In other parts of the performance it was not the directing but the technical ignorance of the players that at times marred things, this and the technical gaps in the play itself. Mr. Bein was entirely sincere with the material of his play—a thing not only outside the intention but often beyond the power of most playwrights—but in many passages—in the first half especially—he needed a clearer thematic stress. The groups of boys, for example, could all along have been more sharply placed in relation to the story; and more than one motive appeared that lost by not having been prepared for more unerringly. This is a fact, and the delay in getting the play going was partly due to it; and yet it seems ungrateful to dwell on the point, for the very point involves the defect of an excellence. It was the elusiveness and the subtle distribution—here not dropping to a fault—of emphases that kept all that mass of motives and feeling and characteristics in the last two scenes to their fine level and left them so unexpressed, so clear and final, and so unforgettable.

There is a lesson involved in this occasion of "Little Ol' Boy," its author, its two main actors, its director, that is immensely important. To those who know it already it will be obvious, and few to whom it is not obvious will ever come to understand it. It concerns art and propaganda. A theatre event may undertake some propaganda and thereby interest certain serious people and be heralded by them largely because of its import (moral, social, et cetera) with regard to some material drawn from life. But the strongest and the ultimate report of this material will consist in the work of art that derives from it. This play of "Little Ol' Boy," for instance, begins with life and ends with life, and in the interspace the wrong appears, naturally and organically, as against life, something destructive of life and therefore carrying its own judgment on itself.

STARK YOUNG.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Mitchell and Other Tax-Dodgers

SIR: The public generally is not aware of the circumstances surrounding the proceedings of the federal authorities against Mr. Charles E. Mitchell, the deposed bank president, for an alleged fraudulent return of his income tax.

The real facts are that the Internal Revenue Bureau is deserving of severe censure in the matter if nothing more. It is notorious in Washington that Mitchell was only doing what thousands of other wealthy men were doing with the full knowledge of the government officials who, in the slang of the day, were letting them "get away with it," and this accounts in a very large measure for the enormous shrinkage in the returns on individual income taxes for the last year, which were only a little over one-third of what they were in 1930. Rumor has it that Mitchell made a complete disclosure to the Bureau of the situation, and if this is so, there is little prospect of his being convicted on the ground of fraud, although he may and ought to be compelled to pay an additional tax in a large sum. It was currently reported in Washington that the late Senator Walsh, when appointed Attorney General, said that he intended "to clean out the Internal Revenue Bureau" in order to stop the special favors that were being given there to wealthy taxpayers. Whether he said this or not, it is reasonably certain that if he had lived to act as Attorney General there would have been a great many changes made in that division.

OBSERVER.

Washington, D. C.

The Heidelberg Bonds

SIR: In your issue of April 12, John T. Flynn quotes me as indignantly denying, on January 8, that the city of Heidelberg would default (in payment of interest on its bonds). I made no such statement; what I did say was that no negotiations for reduction of interest charges were then pending. This statement was given in response to a cable from Heidelberg which appeared in the newspapers, that such negotiations were pending.

The reason for giving out the statement was that I was cognizant of the fact that a Swiss lawyer had approached several German municipalities and corporations which had sold American bond issues with a view to arranging reduction of their interest charges and that he had employed lawyers who were considering the question of organizing a committee in effect nominated by representatives of the debtors, but which would purport to represent the creditors, that is, the bondholders.

Under such conditions I considered it the duty of myself, as head of the former issuing house, to see that this kind of a racket was not put over.

To have a creditors' committee organized by the debtor is not exceptional just now; but, to put it mildly, such a committee will obviously not do the best it can for the creditors. There are some cases where the original houses of issue may still be identified with the issuer of the defaulted bonds, but this certainly would not apply in the case of foreign governments or municipals.

F. J. LISMAN.

New York City.

SIR: Mr. Lisman is a little less than frank. He did say, as he writes, that no negotiations were pending for a reduction of interest charges. But he added that "as the American dollar loan absorbed less than 3 percent of the income of Heidelberg, for this reason *concessions at this time did not appear necessary.*" The implication of this is perfectly plain. Certainly the stock market was in no doubt about it. The price of the stocks went up three points immediately. Yet at that very moment the city was already practically in default. For it had for two months failed to make its monthly-instalment payments to its New York agents. Only five days after his statements we find Mr. Lisman seeking bondholders to form a protective committee.

Mr. Lisman's pose of indignation at a protective committee's being formed by the debtor to represent the creditors is a little naïve. Mr. Lisman, when he sold those bonds, did not represent the bondholders. He represented the debtor. Now that the bonds he sold are in default, and his firm, for that matter, defunct, the least he might do is to step out of the picture.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

New York City.

The Social Objectives of Technocracy

SIR: In order to avoid further misunderstanding of its aims, Technocracy now wishes to make a declaration of policy of such a nature that it cannot be misconstrued or falsified.

Technocracy's survey of the economic situation in America, and in the world, leads to the assumption of an imminent and progressive social instability under price-system operation, with corresponding social disorder, that will threaten large portions of the people with decreasing purchasing power and, consequently, increasing hardship and deprivation.

Technocracy believes that in order to avoid the consequences of such a debacle it is imperative to organize a disciplined body which will resist the forces of disruption and ensure the free flow of food and other necessities to the population at large during the time of crisis and afterward in the period of readjustment.

Technocracy believes that once the present order has demonstrated its operational incapacity it will be the function of its engineers and technologists to put into operation a permanent productive and distributive system which will harness the energy resources of the country for the mutual benefit of the entire population on a continent-wide basis. The term "technologists" is used in the broadest sense and includes, as well as scientists and engineers, educators and experts in such other departments of human activity as are functionally necessary for the operation of the social mechanism.

Technocracy believes that the free and independent spirit of the American people will not be satisfied with the irrational assumptions of Communism, or with the hollow mockery of Fascism, and that a large measure of anarchy and disorder may be avoided by adherence to a program consistent with American tradition. Technocracy is unconditionally opposed to and will struggle against such subversive and revolutionary systems and any other attempts to place this country under a dictatorship in whatever guise.

Technocracy stands ready with a plan to salvage American civilization, if and when democracy as now functioning can no longer cope with the inherent disruptive forces.

Technocracy believes that the substitution of technologists in place of politicians and profiteers will be demanded by the people, sick unto death of the insecurity and deprivation that are the inevitable concomitants of the present ways of doing business—that the substitution of scientific national management for the present muddling, wasteful and ineffectual political and economic set-up represents the simple and natural progression of the American genius.

Technocracy is not misled by emotional optimism created by temporary palliatives. Its findings prove why no "new deal," but an entirely "new game," based upon an accurate "balanced-load" method of social control is the only solution for the problems facing this continent.

The American nation was founded on the assumption that every man has a right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Technocracy amplifies this original intention. Today political liberty does not suffice. Possessing, as this continental area does, sufficient personnel and equipment to guarantee equality of income and security to all, Technocracy is being designed to perpetuate against all aggressors those "inalienable rights" promised the American people by the founding fathers and endemic to this continent.

New York City. TECHNOCRACY, INC.

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Professional Historians

SIR: Mr. Sidney Hook in his article on "The Marxian Dialectic" [The New Republic, March 22] offers some justification for the professional historians, whom Mr. Louis M. Hacker so soundly berates in his review of "We, the People" in the same issue. Granted that the older historians have willfully neglected Beard's "Economic Interpretation," yet his election as president of the American Historical Association shows that the rising generation values his work, even though unwilling to go all the way with him. Beard's efforts to explain everything on the economic basis are condemned by Holy Writ itself, by "Marx's own hypothesis that the development of the mode of economic production is the central *but not exclusive* causal factor of social and cultural change" (to quote Mr. Hook). A similar error is the application of an ideology appropriate to industrial society to the largely agricultural America of the period before the Civil War. This war was basically a struggle between Northern and Southern agriculture for control of the Western lands. The industrialists of the Northeast did not enter the Republican party until 1860, and did not dominate it until after the War. Historians are not willing to force such complex situations into fixed formulas.

Mr. Hacker, in his and Professor Kendrick's valuable textbook, "The United States since 1865" even goes so far as to deny the existence of imperialism in the United States before 1914 because of the absence of an economic motive! Should this be called "dialectic" or "sophistic"?

University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky. W. C. MALLALIEU.

Extracts from Letters

L. S. G., Chicago, Illinois, sends us a letter written by a German-Jewish lawyer in Breslau, who says: "Although today I am still a lawyer, in actual fact I soon will be unable to count on the normal functioning of my legal activity. My clients must go over to Aryan colleagues if they wish to be adequately represented. My clients come to me with excuses, regret my situation, and, in the end, withdraw from me the right to represent them. I shall probably be able to live for a few months on the little I have been able to save during these hard times, but truly do not know what will happen afterwards.

"Better situated colleagues like Mr. X—— have officially announced that they have gone on a much needed vacation but, in fact, have really fled from the country. Their means allow them to remain away for a year or longer. Perhaps they will find a new opportunity where they now are, or perhaps they will be able to reopen their practices here after a change in the situation.

"The vast majority of our colleagues, however, whose paths have not been strewn with roses, and who, due to the excessive number of lawyers and the constant decrease in business, have had a difficult time to keep their heads above water, are in a situation which is nothing short of a catastrophe.

"You cannot imagine what tragedies exist, especially in families with children. Husband and wife have but one theme the whole day long—the terrible collapse. They do not know where to find the money for a loaf of bread and a glass of milk once the last mark has been spent and the last valuable pawned or sold. The same situation which exists with us exists with many Jewish physicians and with innumerable intellectuals, not only in Breslau, but in every city and town of the Reich. No one comprehends the bitterness of our situation. There is no one and nothing that could bring us relief."

Mrs. Ernest Morgan, of the Midwest Exchange, Inc., Yellow Springs, Ohio, writes us that there are several erroneous statements about the enterprise in John Chamberlain's article on barter in The New Republic of April 26. Antioch College has not entered into a direct barter relationship with the owner of a dairy, the transaction being carried on through the Midwest Exchange. The Exchange requires no deposit from members except a $25 membership fee. Mrs. Morgan offers to send any inquirer two pamphlets describing the Midwest Exchange, at a cost of fifteen cents. She suggests that the monthly Labor Review of the United States Department of Labor is an excellent source of information about barter.

Charles F. Harrison, an Alabaman now living in Cambridge, Massachusetts, writes to protest the attitude of The New Republic in the Scottsboro case. He believes that "the chances of the defendants would have been greatly benefited if the other organizations than the International Labor Defense, which offered to appeal the cases, had been given a free hand." Mr. Harrison says that "it was brought out at the trial that some time earlier the Attorney General had had a conference at Birmingham with Ruby Bates and Victoria Price. At that time he told them that he did not want to convict any innocent Negro. They both stuck to the stories they had told at the first trial." Mr. Harrison thinks that "the general opinion of intelligent people in Alabama is that the defendants—at least some of them—are guilty; that, however, there are complications in the matter and that they should not suffer capital punishment. Such people universally deplore the bigoted language of Mr. Wright in his appeal to the jury, as The New Republic does. They also consider the insults of Mr. Leibowitz deplorable, as The New Republic apparently does not."

Arthur Powell Davis, Oakland, California, writes to protest the assumption that the proletariat rules in Russia. "It is on the contrary one of the most complete, extreme and ruthless dictatorships that ever existed—just as contemptuous of the rights of the proletariat as ever was the Tsar's government. If 3,000 hunger marchers marched on the Kremlin, they would never be asked if they were proletariat or bourgeoisie, but they would be overpowered and 'liquidated' as quickly as possible. . . . I am familiar by personal contact with living conditions in Russia during the years 1929, 1930 and 1931, and also by reliable knowledge for at least a year before those dates. I can testify that throughout the last five years living conditions in Russia have been growing steadily worse, though they were low five years ago. . . . Advocates of socialism and communism can do their cause no greater damage than to convince the world that the wretched mess in Russia is a sample of what they advocate."

Benjamin Daublin, Brooklyn, New York City, writes: "I agree wholeheartedly with the remarks of B. B. concerning recent films, in The New Republic of April 19, particularly when he says that the rather gruesome picture, 'M,' is one which Hollywood could not have produced under any circumstances. Righto! Films, like governments, generally reflect a definite cultural level or maturity. . . . Small wonder, therefore, that most of us . . . haven't seen anything from Hollywood since 'The Guardsman.'"

The Workers' Protective League, Market Street, Mt. Carmel, Pennsylvania, appeals through John Coveleskie, chairman, for books to be donated to the miners for a library they are starting. "This town of 17,000 people, in the heart of the anthracite region, has no public library. A group of young and intelligent miners are busily engaged here in the Unemployed League work and other efforts to arouse their fellow workers to action in this crisis. They feel very keenly the handicap which they have in the lack of adequate books on social and economic questions."

Ida Dailes, secretary of the New York Committee for Struggle Against War, announces a meeting to call attention to the dangerous world situation, Sunday evening, May 14, at 8 p.m., at Cooper Union, New York City.

Louis Colman, publicity director for the International Labor Defense, 80 East Eleventh Street, New York City, writes to call attention to the situation in Tallapoosa County, Alabama, where Negro share-croppers and tenant farmers are living in a state of terrorization. The I.L.D. is defending several of these Negro share-croppers who are in prison charged with assault with intent to murder, after defending themselves in a pitched battle with sheriffs' deputies. Funds are badly needed for this work.

The All-World Gandhi Fellowship, through William H. Bridge, its director, announces the opening of an educational center at Mt. Kisco, New York, "for the purpose of training cadets for the Peace Army. . . . Studies will be conducted informally by practised workers in the peace movement, in social and industrial affairs and in the arts as instruments of social reconstruction. The organization is free of any party attachments. . . . Fellowship Center plans to demonstrate a new low in living costs: the staff works without salaries; all guests and students share the work of cleaning and upkeep." Those interested may address the Fellowship at 315 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

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Lenin and Economic Evolution

The Revolution of 1917, by V. I. Lenin. New York: International Publishers. 2 vols. 808 pages. $3 each.

Toward the Seizure of Power: The Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution, by V. I. Lenin. New York: International Publishers. 2 vols. 654 pages. $2.50 each.

THE WORLD is aflame. From the Channel to the Alps embattled millions fight for feet and inches of ground as if in eternal deadlock. Lives are daily snuffed out by the thousands. The Eastern front crumbles before the advancing armies of Germany. The imperialist powers of the Old World, bound together by secret treaties for the division of spoils not yet won, are in a death grapple, harassed, shaken and uncertain. The Russian throne topples. The Tsar is overthrown, Russian society is disintegrating under the disastrous pressure of defeats, blood letting, misery and economic disorder; soldiers defy their officers and cry for "bread and peace." State power lies in the streets of Petrograd. A timid bourgeoisie, aided by social democrats and social revolutionaries, tries to push it in the direction of the old aristocracy, but the handle of the scepter is red hot and even the bravest aristocrats fear to seize it. When it is literally forced upon them, the bourgeois and their democratic allies take it gingerly. Revolution bays at their doors but they still dream of carrying on the war for imperialist ends—the Straits, Constantinople and an outlet to the Mediterranean. They adopt new slogans, make feeble efforts to revive Russian society, cry to the Allies for help, shrink from giving land to the peasants by revolutionary action, hope vainly for better days, sinking all the while amid the debris of centuries. It is 1917.

Among the many watchers who viewed that scene, with a certain historic detachment and yet with passionate interest, was V. I. Lenin, for a time from his point of vantage in Switzerland and then from the streets and hiding places in Petrograd. It is a striking circumstance that the Bolshevik revolution in Russia—destined, doubtless, to go down in history as one of the world-shaking cataclysms of all ages—was headed by two men, Lenin and Trotsky, who were profound and systematic students of history and the social sciences, and who have given to mankind voluminous records, descriptions and interpretations of the events in which they participated. This is significant in many ways. Two students of history make history, and two makers of history furnish a library of systematic and analytical treatises for students of history to digest and ponder. These treatises, combined with the published diplomatic papers of the Tsarist regime, constitute landmarks in the history of historiography, and provide a wealth of special materials for the study of human society such as scholars and practitioners have never before commanded. Cromwell, Marat, Samuel Adams and Napoleon bequeathed no such astounding collections of philosophy, history, economics and politics to the succeeding generations.

Those who have read Trotsky's extraordinary, if bitter and passionate, story of the Russian revolution may now check his assertions and supplement his views by materials of a different kind—not memoirs and pieces of afterthought justification, but the contemporary writings of Lenin dealing with contemporary events from the March revolution to the seizure of power in October, 1917. They are translated, edited and furnished with informative and illuminating critical notes of the highest value by three men of undoubted competence: Joshua Kunitz, Moissaye J. Olgin and Alexander Trachtenberg.

One chapter covers letters, articles and speeches from the beginning of the March revolution to Lenin's return to Russia, but the bulk of the four volumes comprises a bewildering variety of materials touching every important event and phase of the bewildering period that followed: articles in newspapers, speeches, notes, theses, pamphlets, resolutions and substantial treatises dealing with actions and policies of the provisional government, actions and policies of the various parties and party wings, the course of the war, the economic breakdown, and Bolshevik policy, strategy and tactics. Stray pieces bear upon rapidly passing and changing occurrences, written to criticize and to direct thought and will in the making of other occurrences. Other papers, long and systematic, deal with programs of action, the criticism, modification and consolidations of programs, as the kaleidoscopic whirl of events, apparently beyond the control of any human being or group of human beings, creates new situations, breaks their patterns and reforms the picture ever *im Begriff zu werden*. For the student of history who fain would comprehend the inner nature of the vast upheaval, these volumes are a veritable chest of glittering jewels. For one who is interested in any particular turn of things during the stormy days, it has pertinent illustrations and comments. For one who wishes to explore the mind of a popular revolutionist, at once programmatic, practical, negotiative, cautious and yet bent upon purpose, these volumes are almost unsurpassed in richness and vividness.

It is hazardous, of course, to attempt to reconstruct from inert literary materials the mind of Lenin, but the attempt may be made. Certain things seem positively revealed by these materials. Here is a man of deep passion for the popular cause—the cause of workers and toilers in town and country. That much is certain. He evidently has constantly before him a broad frame of reference—a socialist society, a socialist economy, controlled by workers and toilers. He is convinced that the whole historical process of the modern world moves toward that goal. He believes that the bourgeois and their moderate allies are concerned with saving the capitalist and imperialist structure, not with preparing the stage for the socialist transformation—that their hedging, trimming and tacking are directed to this task of salvation. He is therefore cynical about their professions of democracy, popular rule and social reform. He criticizes and seeks to bend events toward the goal of his faith. He proposes, advances, retreats, modifies and compromises within the range of his supreme conception of goal, always realistic, sometimes cautious almost to timidity in his thinking. That events are in the making he seems sure, that he and his party can make events he is sure; how far at a given moment he can go is clouded with uncertainty. The possibility of immediate failure is present in his mind. The nature of the contingencies presented daily and hourly appears almost baffling and yet he makes choices on the basis of facts and his judgment of the facts and proximate potentialities. He triumphs.

In retrospect, the historian will attempt to arrange the occurrences described by Lenin in a neat chain of causation, inexorably leading to the October conclusion, but no such picture of the necessary and inevitable is to be found in these papers. Lenin was sure of the distant goal; but exactly what he and his party could do as events swirled around them was not at any moment as clear to them as the multiplication table, for events beyond their control, even as far away as the United States, might shift the scenery, and incalculable variables surrounded them. With the large goal in view, though uncertain as to the time of

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achievement, with will, purpose and courage at their command, with state power, like a sweetheart, awaiting the valiant, they drove their way into the ever becoming future.

If space permitted, it would be interesting to trace the evolution of Lenin's program and strategy during the months under consideration, to start at the beginning with the essential elements and details of his program and to record the numerous modifications in them under the stress of events, to sketch the patterns of his strategy on his arrival in Russia and then to trace their evolution until the October crisis. Some day this will be done by a student of history, perhaps by some budding statesman of the age exploring the technique of revolution and *coup d'état*. A large canvas would be required for such a picture and only one illustration of the operation can be given here.

On September 23-27, 1917, on the very eve of the October revolution, Lenin wrote a pamphlet entitled "The Threatening Catastrophe" in which he summed up and elaborated previous theses. He described the social and economic devastation in process around him and laid out a program of action—a program which digested various projects that had appeared in previous papers and gave them rounded completeness. He opens by describing the utter breakdown of Russian economy under headway—the collapsing transport facilities, industries, agriculture, with famine, unemployment and misery everywhere. A catastrophe is at hand. "Everybody says that. Everybody recognizes that. Everybody has agreed to that. And nothing is being done." Capitalists hope that it will end in the collapse of "the republic and democracy."

The Cadet party, the commercial and industrial class and the moderate revolutionaries seem to be searching their heads in vain for a way out but find it too difficult for them; at least such is their view for public consumption. "If our state," says Lenin, "really *wished* to realize control in a businesslike, serious manner, if its institutions had not doomed themselves through their servility before the capitalists, to 'absolute inactivity,' the government would only have to draw liberally from the very rich source of control measures that are already known and have already been adopted." In reality, he contends, "even Tsarism, even 'the old regime,' by creating War Industries Committees *was familiar* with the fundamental measures, with the main method and way of control: uniting the population in groups according to profession, purpose of work, branch of labor, etc. Tsarism, however, was afraid of uniting the population." Now Tsarism is destroyed, why does the government not carry out these measures? It wishes to "bamboozle" the people.

What, then, are the measures of control required to avoid the threatening catastrophe? Lenin summarizes them:

> 1. Unification of all banks into one; state control over its operations, or nationalization of the banks.
> 2. Nationalization of the syndicates, *i. e.,* the largest monopoly associations of the capitalists (the sugar, coal, metallurgical syndicates, etc.).
> 3. Abolition of commercial secrets.
> 4. Compulsory syndication *(i. e.,* compulsory unification into associations) of industrialists, merchants and employers in general.
> 5. Compulsory organization of the population into consumers' associations; or encouragement of such unification and control over them.

Then Lenin takes these propositions up one by one, explains and defends them. The first he finds relatively easy.

> In reality [he says] nationalization of the banks, without taking away from any "owner" a single kopeck, presents absolutely no difficulties, either technical or cultural. . . . If nationalization of the banks is so often confused with the confiscation of private property, the dissemination of this confusion of terms is to be blamed on the bourgeois press, to whose interest it is to deceive the people. Ownership of the capital which is manipulated by the banks, and which is concentrated in the banks, is attested by printed and written certificates. . . . None of these certificates is lost or changed when the banks are nationalized, *i. e.,* when all the banks are fused into one state bank. Whoever had fifteen rubles in a savings-bank account remains the owner of the fifteen rubles after the nationalization of the banks, and whoever had fifteen millions will still have fifteen millions in the form of stocks, bonds, promissory notes, commercial paper and the like, even after the nationalization of the banks. . . . The advantages from the nationalization of the banks for the whole people, and *not* especially for the workers (for workers have little to do with banks) but for the mass of the peasants and small industrialists, would be enormous.

Then Lenin discusses the advantages of nationalization in detail.

From banks Lenin turns to the organization of industrial syndicates. How is this to be accomplished? "By one simple decree ordering the convocation of a congress of employees, engineers, directors and shareholders, the introduction of a uniform accounting system, control by the trade unions, etc." Oil kings must be punished and their property confiscated for their past conduct in sabotaging production and concealing accounts, and owners who resist general syndication must be threatened with confiscation. But in the main there is to be no immediate and radical change in management and property relations. All manufacturers and industrialists employing more than two persons are to unite in county and provincial associations. "Responsibility for the scrupulous carrying out of this law is put primarily on the manufacturers, the directors, members of boards, the large shareholders (for these are the real leaders of modern industry, its real masters)." Resisters are to be severely punished. Responsibility for execution in detail is to be placed also on "all the office employees, who are to form *one* union, as well as on the workers with their trade unions." The fundamental aim is "the establishment of the most complete, the most drastic and detailed accounting, and, above all, the *unification of operations* in the purchase of raw materials, in the selling of manufactured goods, in the conservation of national resources."

Like the nationalization of banks, this operation does not alter property relations. "It must be repeated once more," Lenin declares, "that, in itself, organization into a syndicate does not change one iota the relations of private property and does not deprive a single owner of a single kopeck. This circumstance must be particularly stressed, for the bourgeois press continually 'frightens' the small and middle-sized owners, telling them that the Socialists in general, the Bolsheviks in particular, wish to 'expropriate' them—a notoriously false assertion, for *even after the complete Socialist revolution,* the Socialists do not intend, cannot and will not expropriate the small peasants."

This consolidation and organization of economic forces Lenin regards as an advance on the way to his goal. "For Socialism," he says, "is nothing but the next step forward from state-capitalist monopoly. In other words,

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Socialism is nothing but state-capitalist monopoly *made to benefit the whole people;* by this token it ceases to be capitalist monopoly. . . . In reality Socialism looks at us through all the windows of present-day capitalism; the outline of Socialism appears before us *in practice;* it emerges from every large-scale measure forming a step forward on the basis of this modern capitalism. . . . Universal labor duty, introduced, regulated and directed by the Soviet of Workers,' Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies is *not yet* Socialism, but it is *no longer* capitalism. It is a tremendous *step* toward Socialism, a step from which, if complete democracy is retained, no backward step toward capitalism would be possible without the most atrocious violence perpetrated upon the masses."

These measures of consolidation and organization in economy, under workers' control, supplemented by heavy income and inheritance taxes, Lenin offered to Russia, as her social system seemed to be falling to pieces in the autumn of 1917. He did not propose a confiscation of property except where owners resisted the nationalizing process. He proposed nationalization, rationalization, universal labor duty, modifications in the distribution of income and workers' control in the State. He did not favor immediate socialization and the transfer of administrative responsibilities to workers' and peasants' soviets. In a later pamphlet, Lenin declared positively: "We are not Utopians. We know that just any laborer or any cook would be incapable of taking over immediately the administration of the state. . . . We demand that the *teaching* of the business of state administration should be conducted by the class-conscious workers and soldiers, that this should be started immediately, *i. e.,* that steps should be taken immediately to start giving such instructions to all the laboring masses, all the poor."

Recognizing the profound truth that domestic and foreign politics are parts of the same thing, Lenin turned in his planning to the World War then raging. He warned the coalition government of Russia, composed of imperialists and bewildered democrats, that "it is impossible to render the country capable of defending itself without the greatest heroism on the part of the people in courageously and decisively carrying out great economic transformations. And it is impossible to appeal to the heroism of the masses without breaking with imperialism, without offering to all the peoples a democratic peace, without transforming the war from a war of conquest, a predatory, criminal war, into a just, defensive, revolutionary war."

Again and again Lenin presented his theses to the government and people of Russia. Meanwhile the tide of revolution, which had been started by hungry women from the textile mills in March, according to Trotsky and other writers (F. W. Halle, "Die Frau in Sowjetrussland"), was spreading into a torrent. The coalition government did not or could not seize state power, stay the torrent and bring order, peace and a way of life. So the Bolsheviks seized the power, again offered their state-capitalist program with workers' control to the old ruling classes, delayed socialization and confiscation, encountered not cooperation but sabotage at the hands of the bourgeois and the bureaucracy, and were forced to attempt to build an economic order from the ground up. Did the Bolsheviks make the revolution, were they the revolution, or did they merely ride the storm? This question will doubtless be debated until the end of time, but one verdict of history stands: The revolution of violence occurred, despite Lenin's offer of a peaceful transformation through the gateway of state capitalism. In such shadows and uncertainties does mankind grope forward and make fateful historical events.

On the basis of the papers included in these four volumes, Arthur Rosenberg, in his important though tendencious book, "Geschichte des Bolschewismus," makes Lenin defend the middle classes, the fulfilment of the bourgeois revolution in agrarian Russia and to some extent nationalism itself. Here, Rosenberg holds, is the root of differentiation between Leninism and Trotskyism, with Stalin the heir of the former's traditions and policies. Thus Leninism and Stalinism, Rosenberg implies, are penetrated with the spirit of state capitalism and the middle class, despite their proletarian pretensions. Hence Russia, according to his reasoning, has departed from the international and proletarian revolution of Marxism, settled down to a national and bureaucratic capitalism, so that the world has no need to fear revolution at the hands of Bolshevism. Bolshevism is national in interest—all-Russian—and tinctured with the unproletarian spirit of the bourgeois.

On the merits of this controversy, significant as it is for world history, the mere student of history cannot pass a judgment which will command universal respect. All those, however, who take part in it and consider the strategy of the living present will find in these four volumes of Lenin's writings the chief clue to his thinking, his conceptions of history in the process of making, his tactics of revolution, and, what is more important, his projection of economic evolution. To the translators, editor and publishers a special vote of thanks from historical students is certainly due.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

Diagram of Pain

Eva Gay, by Evelyn Scott. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. $2.50.

TWO LEADING characteristics of modern fiction may be described as a tendency toward the intensification of personal experience and the submergence of such experience in the movement of the mass. Evelyn Scott has exhibited both. Her early novels—"The Narrow House," "Narcissus," "The Golden Boy" and, above all, "Escapade"—were examples of the first; "The Wave," with its hundred episodes of the American Civil War and more than that number of characters, was a type of the second. "Eva Gay" may be regarded as a return to her former practice but with a significant difference. A quality of Mrs. Scott's poetry, acutely noted by Mr. Padraic Colum in a review in The New Republic, was "a way of understating life," and this quality she transferred to her fiction. The acid pessimism of her early stories inhered in the incongruity between the intensity of the experience which her characters suffered and their unimportance, their triviality. In "Eva Gay," on the contrary, Mrs. Scott regards her characters as significant and the pattern of their association as a comment on life.

The characters are three: the scientist, the artist, the woman. They are the products of three environments: Tennessee, Missouri, New Zealand. For two-thirds of the book they live their independent lives, strangely far apart in experience reflected through streams of consciousness which belong to different human watersheds. The War is only the occasion which brings them together; the forces which hurl them upon one another have been accumulating from the beginning in ways of which they remain but dimly conscious. They do not know each other; in respect to each other they do not know themselves. Hans Haaska, the scientist, Evan Garrett, the painter—each strives to

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keep his soul intact. Each loves Eva with a different passion and Eva's love for each, which gains its terrible power from conscious innocence and unselfishness, sacrifices both. It may be contended that Hans and Evan are drawn to scheme, the products of the author's ingenuity rather than creative spirit. They become real through their pain, which Mrs. Scott once defined as "the consciousness of an incongruity of which one is a part." This extremity of suffering is the long-drawn-out note of Eva's self-consciousness. In her, at least, the author is on firm ground. Mrs. Scott has always portrayed women by recall or intuition. In Eva Gay she has lost nothing of intensity while gaining the authority of an intelligence which presides over the movements of a fragile, volatile, errant spirit.

Another respect in which Mrs. Scott's later work differs from her earlier is its abundance. "The Narrow House" and "The Golden Boy" were examples of compression within environments which seemed artificially limited. "Eva Gay" centers its attention upon three characters, but the world is their stage. Not only the near-South and New Zealand, but East Africa, the Antarctic, London, Paris, New York, the Midi, the Pyrenees, are backgrounds which Mrs. Scott handles with the assured realism with which she evoked the Brazilian landscape in "Escapade." Each of these, moreover, is a peopled world. From supporting characters and family groups, light is reflected upon Eva, Hans and Evan, and the minor figures are drawn with admirable precision and gusto. The control of an enormous mass of material is reflected in a style varying from the argot of the streets to the imaginative speech of the artist. Mrs. Scott has always dealt with problems of expression on the border of the inexpressible, sometimes with a sense of effort and reluctance, a certain straining and tension. Here in this work of long breath, a novel of 800 pages, she shows freedom and confidence, a serene mastery of a world passionately possessed.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

Why Napoleon Fell

Napoleon, by Jacques Bainville. Translated from the French by Hamish Miles. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 434 pages. $3.75.

Napoleon, by Hilaire Belloc. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 379 pages. $4.

M. BAINVILLE'S book, excellently Englished, is probably one of the best ever written on its subject. It is mainly political and psychological. It touches on the military campaigns only in so far as is absolutely indispensable to an understanding of the narrative, and the narration itself is confined to the essential and significant facts in Napoleon's career. M. Bainville's primary aim and object is to explain this unique career. He succeeds completely and brilliantly.

Two ideas dominate M. Bainville's book, as they dominated Napoleon himself. One is the retention of Belgium, annexed by the Republic. England would never consent to this annexation; the possession of Antwerp by a great military power was a pistol aimed at the heart of England. The history of the Empire was a struggle for the preservation of Belgium, but France could not preserve Belgium without subjugating Europe in order to bring England to her knees. The absorption of the Netherlands, of Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Dalmatia, Naples; the campaigns in Spain and Portugal; the Russian alliance and, when it dissolved, the Russian campaign; the Berlin and Milan decrees —all these were designed as maritime instruments against England. "To hold the seas by land power" was his problem, Napoleon explained to his brother Louis. The Continental blockade condemned him to a policy of intervention, war and annexation, which ultimately roused all the peoples of Europe against him and brought about his downfall.

The second idea that runs through the book is intimately connected with the first—Napoleon's sense of insecurity, of the precarious basis of his power, of being perpetually confronted with an insoluble problem that led him into forced situations. He was aware all the time that defeat for him meant the end. He knew that he could not afford to commit blunders like any other monarch, for "he was not his own grandson." His dependence on unreliable and even treacherous men like Talleyrand and Fouché is to be ascribed to his consciousness of insecurity. His mother's penetrating common sense saw through the hollowness of his power. "Provided it all lasts," was her wise comment, and she saved money against the day when she would have so many kings on her hands. The assumption of empire spelt Napoleon's doom, but he who was conscious of himself as heir to the Revolution was not great enough to resist the temptation.

Mr. Belloc's book is not a biography. It is divided into two parts. It opens with a general estimate of Napoleon's career; this is followed by a series of sketches dealing with outstanding events in his personal life and in his military campaigns. His work as legislator and administrator is almost entirely passed over. The book is brilliant, suggestive, frequently illuminating, notwithstanding some minor errors and the author's well known crotchets. Mr. Belloc argues cogently against the widely accepted notion that it was British sea power which defeated Napoleon, yet it did that ultimately and by indirection, as M. Bainville shows; and he seems to be quite as unaware as was Napoleon himself of the real source of Britain's power, which enabled her to maintain incessant war against the Revolution and the Empire, and to finance successive coalitions of the Continental monarchies against them—namely, the Industrial Revolution, which at that time was a British monopoly. The wealth created by modern industry was what accounted for the fact, which so puzzled Napoleon, that a nation of eight million people could hold its own against a nation more than three times as numerous.

Perhaps the most instructive bit of information in Mr. Belloc's book is Napoleon's coronation oath. It explains the real source of Napoleon's power, and is so illuminating that we quote it here in part:

> I swear to *maintain intact the territory of the Republic,* myself to respect and to make others respect the laws of the Concordat and freedom of worship; to respect myself and to make others respect *the equality of men* in their rights and liberties, both political and civil, *the perpetuation of the sales that have been made of national land* [former property of nobles and Church] *and the keeping of them irrevocable;* to raise no duty and impose no tax save according to law. . . .

And his fall came when, owing to dazzling success and an ever-present sense of insecurity, he forgot the real basis of his power and pursued a dynastic policy in Spain and a policy of adventure in remote Russia. In spite of England's implacability, he might yet have maintained himself could he but moderate his ambition and know the limits of his power. He could work his will in countries adjacent to

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France: the Netherlands, Italy, western Germany, the modernizing of which was necessary to the new regime in France, but he was defeated by the countries lying at the periphery of Europe: England, Spain, Russia.

HERMAN SIMPSON.

Beginnings of a Literature

The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne, edited by Randall Stewart. New Haven: Yale University Press. 446 pages. $5.

IN ALMOST any little English or Scottish newspaper a small corner may be found devoted to out-of-door life, and at their best these musings or descriptions are very good indeed: fresh, true, delicate, distinctive in style. We seem to have developed almost nothing of the kind in our papers except for the old formal salutes to spring and autumn and an occasional good out-of-door sportsman's page. Our writing on nature has in fact taken a different course from that in England, and it has developed slowly. Some of its first phases may be found in Bartram, Hall, Flint, but the patterns of a generalizing romanticism and of the older English style often lay upon these writers. A full sense of discovery in an idiom of our own was still to come.

The early effort in this direction is curiously revealed in Hawthorne's "American Notebooks." He noted with surprise that squirrels often sat upright. He mentioned the "leaves of the white pine." Instead of describing grasses, weeds, berries, trees, by name or in effect, he was likely to cover them all by the word "verdure" or even "universal verdure." But he was continually pressing toward a more special observation, he was always conscious of failure, and his later entries show a great advance in particularity, though he remained to the last an artist in generic effects.

One is impressed anew in rereading the "Notebooks" by Hawthorne's snobbishness, his natural assumption of the aristocratic view. Yet he turned persistently to plain people and drew them again and again, almost always recognizably though usually without warmth. It was as though in spite of himself he was magnetized by the growing preoccupation with such types. On the popular stage, in almanacs and sporting journals, the same subjects were favored in sketches closely allied to Hawthorne's even in the matter of laborious detail—sketches of old "Revolutioners," tavern keepers, barmaids, stagecoach drivers.

Henry James was amazed by the detail of the "Notebooks" and by what he regarded as their triviality. But James read them long after they were written, at a time when "realism, that remarkable compound," was thoroughly established as a mode of observation. If the "Notebooks" are read against the writings of their own period this immense detail seems full of urgency. Hawthorne himself stands in a different light, as a far less passive figure than he is usually represented. He was struggling for a material and a medium—struggling against his own temperament and against an established tradition. A clew lies in the abstract statements in the "Notebooks" by which he habitually summed up ideas for tales. His mind was naturally abstract, and the abstract lay all about him. It was part of the Puritan mode of thought, and had been dominant in the larger body of American writing before his time. In these years, when our literature was forming, he was trying to see the American scene and the American character without the veil of the older prepossessions.

Hawthorne's creative efforts were complicated by another force, here dramatized by Mr. Randall Stewart's restoration of the "Notebooks." It is easy to make much of Mrs. Hawthorne's prudishness and her assumption of authority. The fact is, she represented a force that any writer of this period was bound to feel. At a time when a living language was most needed for the fresh discovery of people and places the vernacular was considered insufficient. Elegance in its various forms, moral and verbal and sartorial, was something the country would have, and a salty, native vocabulary often went down before the superficial impulse.

With Mr. Stewart's full, admirable introduction and accurate editing, the "Notebooks" in their restored form provide a wealth of new material about Hawthorne; but the new edition also draws attention to other important values. These copious writings make a kind of map of warring intentions that existed at the beginning of our imaginative literature.

CONSTANCE ROURKE.

The Second Wave

Horizons, by Norman Bel Geddes. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 313 pages, illustrated. $4.75.

AS AN exhibition of fresh thinking on the subject of architecture and the industrial arts, "Horizons" is comparable to the second discovery of America in the year 1592. From Mr. Geddes' excellent design for a modern stream-lined railway train, which can be found in embryo in Knight's "American Mechanical Dictionary" (1874) to his design for a modern house, which is essentially Le Corbusier (1922), Mr. Geddes has plainly been riding in on the second wave of interest and experiment. His work is none the worse for this fact, of course; but considering the fact that he was able to begin at the point where other men had left off, it is not notably better. His strength lies in a fertile imagination, a flair for the practical, and in his rapport with the incurably romantic souls who filled the advertising offices and the sales departments of big business in the days before the crash. Perhaps his chief qualification as designer—one sees it in the design for a modern ocean steamship—is that he has the open-mindedness to new possibilities which is the perpetual contribution of the amateur to the professional who too often works soggily within his own unconsciously self-imposed limits. The illustrations in Mr. Geddes' book are perhaps the best part of it: if he had told his story completely with photographs and plans, he could have avoided the somewhat glib and egocentric note of the text.

L. M.

Book Notes

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS

MEMORIES OF A MISSPENT YOUTH: 1872-1896, by Grant Richards. *New York: Harper and Brothers. 369 pages. $3.*

The Yellow Nineties rear their head in this volume of memoirs by one of the lesser lights of the time, who has since established himself as novelist and publisher. Mr. Richards writes gracefully, and his acquaintance with the famous was vast; but his book is hardly as dangerous as it sounds. Addressed exclusively to the bookish-minded, it skims over love affairs to tell discreet anecdotes of Sir William Rothenstein or Frank Harris or Ernest Dowson or Verlaine. Max Beerbohm provides an introduction which does not quite catch fire and in its pathetic bewilderment before the new times seems to tip off the inside story of the volume as a whole: that the period described is even further away from us in spirit than forty years.

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FERRUCCIO BUSONI, by Edward J. Dent. *New York: Oxford University Press. 368 pages. $5.75.*

Busoni was more than a piano virtuoso; indeed he came to detest the business of playing in public. He was a man of great culture who "knew himself inwardly to be a composer and perhaps something more; it is not too much to say that he knew himself to be a philosopher and a prophet." It was this man whom Professor Dent knew, and with whom he is concerned in his biography. There are appendices giving Busoni's repertory, the programs of his orchestral concerts of new and unfamiliar music in Berlin, and the list of his musical compositions and literary works.

Reprints

THE COMPLETE NOVELS OF JANE AUSTEN. *New York: The Modern Library. 1,364 pages. $1.*

THE MEDICI, by Colonel G. F. Young. *New York: The Modern Library. 824 pages, illustrated. $1.*

Messrs. Cerf and Klopfer, of the Modern Library, are playing a game the title of which is "The Modern Library Giants." The purpose of the game is to see how many pages of type (it must be clear) can be bound in one volume (they must be well bound) and sold to the public for a dollar. Each book must be "the least expensive [edition] in any language and in any country in the world"—failing which we presume that Messrs. Cerf and Klopfer must pay some such forfeit as, for example, reading all their own publications from cover to cover. "The Complete Novels of Jane Austen" is not quite their greatest triumph, for it contains only 1,364 pages, whereas the second volume of Gibbon's "Rome," which appeared last December, had no less than 1,476. Young's "Medici" is an achievement of a slightly different sort. It has only 824 pages, like any mere encyclopedia, but it also contains thirty-two aquatone illustrations of Florentine sculpture, painting and architecture, in addition to a genealogical table of the Medici family. Both these books, and indeed all the ten titles in this series, will be appreciated by people who are trying to collect a working library of good books without borrowing, stealing or paying through the nose.

Science

MAJOR MYSTERIES OF SCIENCE, by H. Gordon Garbedian. *New York: Covici-Friede. 366 pages, illustrated. $3.75.*

A very large amount of information on the various sciences has been industriously assembled in this volume intended for popular consumption. As is usual in such "outline" books, the field covered is wide: technology and engineering, biology, geology; physics, chemistry, astronomy and the cosmos. The author has had the good sense to consult numerous authorities, including A. H. Compton, George W. Crile, Alexis Carrel, Robert A. Millikan; this precaution and his breezy, if rather complacent, style give his material a special value for the man in the street, whose ideal is to obtain accurate information without studying too hard. The numerous photographic illustrations are a help.

SCIENCE AND HUMAN LIFE, by J. B. S. Haldane. *New York: Harper and Brothers. 295 pages. $2.50.*

It would be difficult to find at the present time a more competent master of "scientific journalism" than the distinguished and versatile J. B. S. Haldane. In this, his latest collection of essays, the reader is entertained with facts, fantasies and reflections ranging from genetics to mysticism, biochemistry to mathematics, prehistory to birth control. Irony and wit give rise to many epigrams: "If the structure of society is such that the best stocks in it are being bred out, we must change that structure"; "A book glorifying war may be quite as anti-social, and to my mind quite as obscene, as one glorifying illicit love, but it is never suppressed and seldom publicly denounced"; "Religion is declining for the very simple reason that all religions are full of obsolete science of various kinds, especially obsolete cosmology and obsolete psychology." The chapters on "Scientific Calvinism," "Science in Western Civilization" and "Some Consequences of Materialism" illustrate Haldane's philosophic gifts and lively scientific imagination. The absence of an index, in a volume so full of curious information and comment, is highly regrettable.

The Social Sciences

BALANCED EMPLOYMENT, by Lee Sherman Chadwick. *New York: The Macmillan Company. 234 pages. $2.*

Mr. Chadwick, president of a stove corporation, proposes a commission of "far-sighted industrialists" to devise a national plan for balanced employment. Such a group could ascertain the total number of required work hours, and parcel these out evenly to all who desired employment. The profits of this plan would accrue largely to the entrepreneurs. Mr. Chadwick's appeal is directly to the self-interest of this class. Under a guise of thin benevolence, he is outlining a more secure way in which labor might be exploited.

MONEY, by D. H. Robertson. *Introduction by J. M. Keynes. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 202 pages. $1.35.*

This account of the function and characteristics of money is highly satisfactory for the general reader. One of the Cambridge Economic Handbooks, it was first published in 1922, and is now reissued.

Fiction

THE WATER WHEEL, by Julian Shapiro. *Ithaca, N. Y.: The Dragon Press. $2.50.*

Mr. Julian Shapiro's first novel is a study of a young man in that state of emotional tension and intellectual incertitude characteristic of the final stage of adolescence. The story deals with the experience, real and imagined, of John Sanford, a law clerk who bitterly assails himself because of his prospective future; his relationships with three women; his flight from and return to his native land. Mr. Shapiro's prose is graceful and clear, and he displays considerable craftsmanship. His typographical innovations seem unnecessary in one whose prose is attractive and flexible.

STORM BEACH, by Virginia Hersch. *Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.*

Judith Carvalho was a daughter of the Spanish Jewish aristocracy of Charleston, those who had fled from the slaves' revolt in Santo Domingo. It was her tragedy that in 1815 she fell deeply in love with her brother's best friend, a Gentile. But she was of "the Sfardim, the chosen among the chosen, the farthest from the ghettoes, the intellectuals." She was bound to renounce the man, the more so that others of her race were coming out of Europe "stooped and quivering and afraid," and she must remain among the Jews, erect in her pride and intelligence. Faithful to her love, she remained single and became the famous Charleston poetess, while around her the family branched despite individual pain and the perplexities of the Reform Church. The story contains an amount of special pleading. The incidents have objective clarity, and are well rounded off in the traditional historical-novel form.

Contributors

Lewis Mumford, author of a number of volumes on architecture, art, literature and the social sciences, is at present completing a treatise on "Form and Civilization." He is a member of the Regional Planning Association of America and has contributed to The Journal of the American Institute of Architects, to Architecture and The Architectural Record.

Leo Pasvolsky, who is at present in Geneva, was formerly associated with the Institute of Economics in Washington, D. C.

Leif A. Dahl, one of the leaders of the Nebraska delegation to the Farmers' Relief Conference, is a graduate of Columbia University and recently returned from an extended trip through those sections of the West where the embattled farmers are forming new plans of revolt.

Charles A. Beard, whose numerous work on politics and history are well known to readers of The New Republic, recently published "A Charter for the Social Sciences."

Herman Simpson, a contributor to various magazines, was formerly one of the editors of The New York Call.

Constance Rourke is the author of "Troupers of the Gold Coast, or the Rise of Lotta Crabtree," and "American Humor," a study of popular forces in American literature.

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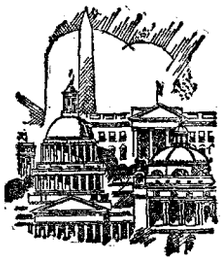

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